WEATHERMAN
UNDERGROUND
REPORT
211 pages

FBI

Date: 8/20/76

Transmit the following in (Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via (Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

FROM: ACTING SAC, CHICAGO (100-40903)

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)
FORMERLY WEATHERMAN
IS-WUO
OO: CHICAGO

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of a LHM entitled FOREIGN INFLUENCE-WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION. Enclosed for receiving offices is one copy of LHM. Two copies of LHM are enclosed for New York.

The basic reference material utilized for this document is contained within the quarterly reports of STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY(SDS), IS-SDS, during the period from 11/5/67 through 5/70 and 4/1/71 and 8/72.

Unless otherwise designated, all data contained herein is unclassified. The document itself, however, maintains the classification ~~TOP SECRET~~ because of similarly classified data contained therein.

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (Enc. 10)
1-Baltimore (Enc. 1)
1-Boston (Enc. 1)
1-Cincinnati (Enc. 1)
1-Cleveland (Enc. 1)
1-Detroit (Enc. 1)
1-Los Angeles (Enc. 1)
2-New York (Enc. 2)
1-Portland (Enc. 1)
1-St. Louis (Enc. 1)
1-San Francisco (Enc. 1)
1-Seattle (Enc. 1)
1-Chicago
RRG:WED/meb
(25)

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Classified by 6087~~
~~Exempt from GDS Category~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~

REC-60

AUG 25 1976

Approved: ____ Sent ____ M Per ____
Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-40903

ADMINISTRATIVE

Comments of the Chicago Office

Knowledgeable analysts who have followed the growth of Weatherman or as it is now called, the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), are well aware of the foreign influences on the collective thoughts and actions of these revolutionaries who have consistently carried out the Marxist-Leninist conception of armed struggle in the U.S. The WUO investigation is an excellent example of the native born American who adopts the faith of an alien ideology and in behalf of his beliefs commits acts of armed violence, the purposes of which serve to acknowledge his revolutionary obligations to the international communist movement and at the same time create the conditions for revolution in the mother country. The revolutionary who has committed his destiny under the banner of Marxism-Leninism establishes his identity with a world center of revolution (in this instance Havana), develops his fraternal ties with that center and carries out in practice those actions which foster this international relationship. He ceases to be merely "domestic" when he adopts his international identity as a revolutionary. The examples of the leadership of the CPUSA in effectively carrying out the policies and purposes of the Communist Party, Soviet Union, are legion and the enclosed material shows no less the WUO carrying out the policies and purposes of the Vietnamese (DRV and PRG) and the Cuban government.

Foreign influence or control then is not simply a matter confined to those who engage in the tradecraft of gathering hard intelligence. Nor is the revolutionary acting in behalf of a foreign government in the political arena to be classified merely "domestic," the implication being a status of lesser dangerousness. "Witness" by WHITTAKER CHAMBERS provides sufficient evidence as a basis to judge the depth of allegiance between a native born American committed to a revolutionary ideology and his foreign principal--whether it be Moscow, Peking or Havana. It matters not what the target is for the revolutionary--whether gathering hard intelligence or setting bombs to further his international revolutionary commitments--the revolutionary whose actions flow from his faith (ideology) is not constrained by such limiting terminology as "domestic" intelligence. When the WUO initiated, planned and organized the Venceremos

Brigade (VB) trips they did so with the encouragement and instructions of the Cuban government. The question of foreign influence can hardly be ignored when the purposes of the VB trips primarily served the national policy of the Cubans. Likewise when the WUO placed a bomb in the nation's Capitol and then politicalized their action with an underground communique which extolled their international revolutionary identity, the question of foreign influence was sharply brought into focus.

To adequately explain the foreign influences on the adherents of the WUO, this document considered the following questions:

1. What motivated the Weatherpeople? What did they believe in? What center of world revolution did they identify with?

2. What were their international travels and contacts? Did such contacts influence their actions in the U.S? How?

3. During their underground, how did they carry out their commitments? Were their actions international in character? Did they adopt tactics which flowed from the example of a foreign principal?

4. Who are the main adherents of the WUO? What international travel and/or contacts did they have? What did they say about their revolutionary commitment?

The above questions are answered in the enclosed document.

TOP SECRET

CG 100-40903

Sources

See Nonsymbol Source
Administrative Page(NSAP)

Location

NY100-155597-53
SF100-47439-49

b1

CG 100-40903

Sources | **Location**

CG100-45568-64p3

NSAP

CG T-31
CG T-32

NSAP

NSAP

NSAP

B1
B7D

6

TOP SECRET

CG 100-40903

Source	Location
NSAP	
NSAP	
CG T-88 NSAP	

B1

TOP SECRET

9

CG100-40903

Source	Location
NSAP	
NSAP	
NSAP	
CG T-101	
CG T-104	
NSAP	

B1

TOP SECRET

CG 100-40903

Source	Location
CG T-108	
CG T-110	
NSAP	

NSAP

B1
B7D

CG T-118
NSAP

CG T-120
NSAP

NSAP

CG100-47954-40

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

CG 100-40903

Source	Location
NSAP	
(Former) NSAP	
NSAP	
NSAP	
NSAP	

b1

18

CG 100-40903

Source	Location
NSAP	
CG T-167 NSAP	
CG T-169 NSAP	
NSAP	
NSAP	

61

CG 100-40903

Source	Location
NSAP	SF100-65041
CG T-184 NSAP	
(Former) NSAP	B1 B7D
CG T-188 NSAP	
NSAP	

15

NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Request)	NY100-148047-3724 NY100-163517 NY100-148047-3728
nature of position)	CG100-40903-Sub C,192
position)	CG100-45568-1B1
CG T-14 CIA (position)	
CG T-18 CIA (Nature of agency)	NY100-161843-13 NY105-82227 CG100-45686-458 NY100-165852-44 CG100-44398-158 p.6,7 PD88-6381-48 NY105-42122-638 CG100-50942-157 NY105-42122-638 SF100-57359-603 NY100-163844-16 CG100-47193
	NY100-165681-53
(request)	CG100-40903-9094
(request-position)	PHreport SDS 12/18/68
Columbus, Ohio (request-volunteered info)	CIreport SDS 1/3/69

BT
B7D

16

NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Detroit, Michigan (nature of position)	Detroit LHM SDS 3/13/69
...ature of position)	SF100-6432041
CG T-31 Capitol Police, Washington, D.C.(nature of position)	WFO report SDS 3/31/69 SF100-64320-41
CG T-32 Operations and Research Department U.S. Army, Europe	Chicago report SDS 8/8/69
San Diego, California (request)	Instant LHM
...request)	PD176-18
...ature of position)	CG100-48751-56
(nature of position)	DE100-35436-82
CG T-46 Daily Report, Latin American and Western Europe, published by Foreign Broadcast Information Service (nature of report)	DE100-35436-81 NY 100-162256-19 CG 100-48905-13

81 870

...request)	NY100-47872-73

17

NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

NY Confidential mailbox
(nature of method)

CG T-101
CIA,

CG100-40903-13870

request)

B1
B7D

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.
CG 100-40903

Chicago, Illinois
August 20, 1976

FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WEATHER
UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)

INTRODUCTION

From the moment in October, 1967, when Radio Hanoi announced the formation of the South Vietnamese Peoples Committee for Solidarity with American People (by the National Liberation Front (NLF), the political arm of the Viet Cong) with the objective of establishing relations with "progressive organizations and individuals in the United States," a political front was enjoined in behalf of the national interests of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam (DRV) (and the NLF), the purpose of which was to intensify the anti-war sentiment in the United States. From the initial meeting between the Vietnamese and leading anti-war activists held in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, in November, 1967, to the July, 1969, meeting with leading Weatherpeople held in Havana, Cuba, the influence of Vietnamese representatives on the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) leadership became sharply pronounced. At the same time, the example of the Cuban revolution became the guide for the emerging American student revolutionary. With an increasing number of trips to Havana where the youthful revolutionary could learn at first hand how to create revolution, the influence of Cuba on the developing WUO was enormous.

Date of Declassification indefinite

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Classified by 6687~~
~~Exempt from GDS Category~~
~~Date of Declassification Indefinite~~

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

25

The WUO obtained their revolutionary methodology from the Cubans and Vietnamese and, importantly, put into practice what they had learned from them. The Weathermen, of course, did not just happen to come about during the June, 1969, SDS National Convention. They fully admit their radical heritage began during experiences gained in SDS and as shown herein their international contacts with representatives of the DRV and NLF which began in 1967 increased their anti-imperialist consciousness so that by 1969 they had solidified their revolutionary commitment to include the maximum optimum of armed struggle. So, when Huynh Van Ba, representative of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam (PRG), instructed the WUO to "look for the person who fights hardest against the cops...Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights," the campus base was forgotten and the WUO began to recruit the greasers and assorted oddments who had displayed their hatred of authority in direct combat with police.

The WUO has existed since early 1970. Since then, their ideological statements have developed a more consistent Marxist-Leninist revolutionary stance, and along with their numerous "underground communiques" which have accompanied significant bombings throughout the country, their statements quite clearly show they continue to consider themselves revolutionaries of an international order. Their revolutionary duty lies side by side with the oppressed Third World peoples and the proletariat of the world. Hence, the international character of the WUO and the foreign influence which shaped that character was early defined and has been a constant frame of reference when considering the investigative problem inherent to the WUO.

A chronology of the WUO follows:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TOP SECRET

FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO)

TOP SECRET

SECTION I

IDEOLOGY

This Section on Ideology deals with the ideas of Weatherman. What did they believe in? Were they influenced by a foreign ideology? What did internationalism mean to them? These questions, which are at the very heart of any understanding of the political revolutionary, are fully explored here.

In analyzing the actions and motivations of any political group, one must always examine the ideology behind the actions; for actions are guided by theory. The confusion inherent in the social fabric of the nation during the 1960s and early 1970s makes a treatment of the political thought which conditioned Weatherman actions difficult and perhaps overlong. Nonetheless, Weatherman (or subsequently the Weather Underground Organization) has struggled to define a revolutionary body of thought which has both the substance of traditional Marxist-Leninist-MAO Tse-tung thought and New Left exceptionalism as educed from their common experiences developed within the Students for a Democratic Society. The theoretician may well find severe contradictions in WUO logic and, of course, the changes in their stated dogma from June, 1969, to the present reveal almost complete reversals in certain aspects of Marxist theory. But two features have remained unchanged which are manifestations of their collective experiences: one, an unremitting commitment to armed struggle as the ultimate necessity to seize state power, and two, an unshakeable faith that imperialism will only be defeated through a world-wide linking up of the revolutionary process. "Revolutionaries," according to the WUO, "are internationalists."

TOP SECRET

Contained in Section I is the following:

A. Major Political Statements of the WUO; 1969-1976 Page 3

This material documents the WUO's unchanging belief in armed struggle and the necessity of the international communist movement to guide their struggles to create revolution in the United States. Also included is a commentary on those specific aspects of Marxist-Leninist dogma which relates to their changes of political positions.

B. Internationalism - WUO Statements Which Support the International Communist Movement Page 31

This material sets forth WUO leadership statements relating to their commitment to the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism with a concluding statement showing the direct influence of the Cuban revolution on Weatherman.

C. Influence of the Cuban Revolution Page 46

This material reveals the depth of the influence of "Revolution in the Revolution?" by REGIS DE BRAY on the WUO. Included are statements by confidants of WUO leaders received immediately prior to WUO entering the underground, showing their commitment to DE BRAY's theses of guerrilla action.

D. Influence of Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung Thought Page 55

This material reflects the Weatherman acceptance of the primary contradiction facing the world as established by China; the situation during the 1969 SDS National Convention wherein MAO Tse-tung thought influenced Weatherman.

IDEOLOGY

A. MAJOR POLITICAL STATEMENTS OF THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION (WUO) Formerly Weatherman; 1969-1976

Although Weatherman as an identifiable revolutionary group came into being with the issuance of their initial ideological statement in June, 1969, the totality of their experiences, politically and organizationally, are inextricably bound up with the social and political upheavals which faced the country in the late 1960s. Their ideology was formulated amid the confrontations they faced in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the influence upon them from world centers of revolution, Havana, Peking and Hanoi. The concluding days of SDS saw the New Left activist attempting to define a revolutionary youth movement conception, Marxist-Leninist in content, which would relate the experiences of the youth activist in a concrete way to their objective — the destruction of U.S. imperialism.

Among Marxist-Leninists the struggle for ideological clarity is a never ending process and the key political statements of the Weatherman show they are no different from other like minded revolutionary scientific socialists. Briefly, their primary ideological statements are:

June, 1969:	You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows
May, 1974:	Prairie Fire
Spring, 1975-Summer, 1976:	Osawatomie
Spring, 1976:	Politics in Command

However, regardless of their continued seeking of ideological clarity, the WUO has maintained consistency on several key points. They are:

1) The understanding that the primary contradiction facing the world is that between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed peoples of the world, especially Third World people.

2) That revolutionaries are internationalists and as such they have a duty and obligation to the international communist movement which "must guide it."

3) That armed struggle is the ultimate necessity of the political revolutionary which must be used in order to seize state power and defeat U.S. imperialism.

The WUO has undergone significant ideological changes from the Weatherman during the period from 1969 to 1976. Changes in the balance of forces in the world, the ending of the war in Vietnam, a less abrasive social fabric in the country, a general malaise of the revolutionary left coupled with their own maturing has affected their ideological outlook. These are:

Whereas in 1969 their ideological guide was synonymous with the Cuban revolutionary experience as chronicled by REGIS DE BRAY in "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1975 BERNARDINE DOHRN writes that the foco theory of revolution (DeBrayism) is wrong.

Whereas in 1969 the Weatherman extolled CASTRO's "The duty of a revolutionary is to make revolution," and CHE GUEVARA's "Two, Three, Many Vietnams;" in 1976 their formulations relate more closely to the experiences of the Chinese revolution. (It is noted that the caption of their major ideological statement issued in 1974 is "Prairie Fire," which emanates from MAO Tse-tung's "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire.")

Whereas in 1969 the rationale for their activism was related directly to bringing about the cessation of the war in Vietnam and the forces to effectuate this objective in the United States were black, third world and cultural youth forces "outside" the system, in 1976 the WUO although not denying their sympathetic ties to oppressed sectors, now takes a more classical Marxist-Leninist position that the motive force for revolution is the working class.

TOP SECRET

Whereas in 1969 the Weatherman denied the necessity for the building of a communist party before engaging in the revolutionary process (DE BRAY), in 1976 the WUO calls for "Politics in Command," and asserts that the building of a true Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party is necessary in order to lead the masses. In line with this objective, the WUO in 1976 calls for unity among revolutionary forces as the necessary element in building a vanguard communist party. A further principal element in building a party is the developing of ties with the masses which the WUO now calls for but which in 1969 they denied.

TOP SECRET

You Don't Need a Weatherman To
Know Which Way The Wind Blows

"New Left Notes"
June 18, 1969

This ideological statement, from which the Weather Underground Organization (WUO) derived its name Weatherman, was introduced during the chaotic atmosphere of the June, 1969, National Convention of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). At a time when internal struggles were fracturing the organization, Weatherman joined with the Revolutionary Youth Movement II (RYM II) (led by National Secretary MIKE KLONSKY) to oust the dogmatic Workers Student Alliance (WSA) faction of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). Weatherman took over leadership of the National Office of SDS through the electoral process at this National Convention: MARK RUDD as National Secretary, JEFF JONES as Inter-Organizational Secretary and BILL AYERS as Educational Secretary. The effective leadership of SDS (including BERNARDINE DOHRN who was elected to the National Interim Committee) from June, 1969, to the closing of its doors in February, 1970, when the Weathermen went underground, was totally Weatherman. Neither PL, who had opened its own "SDS" headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, nor RYM II, who initiated its own separate organization in November, 1969, had any over-all influence in the national policies in SDS after the June, 1969, convention.

The Weatherman ideological statement was never debated within SDS, simply because the Weatherman leadership were so overwhelmingly aggressive as to forestall any critical approach to their ideology. Then, too, the influence of the Cuban revolution and in particular the chronicle of the Cuban experience as revealed in "Revolution in the Revolution?" (see Section: Regis DeBray, "Revolution in the Revolution?") was at this time (1969) pervasive--the intent to go underground and to organize themselves into "focos" in order to carry out actions against the state apparatus was building. It is instructive to note that the initial caption of the Weatherman ideological statement concerns itself with the international character of the revolutionary process:

TOP SECRET

*Submitted by Karin Ashley, Bill Ayers, Bernardine Dohrn, John Jacobs, Jeff Jones, Gerry Long, Howie Machtinger, Jim Mellen, Terry Robbins, Mark Rudd and Steve Tappis

I. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION

> The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principal contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is promoting the struggle of the people of the whole world against US imperialism and its lackeys.
>
> --Lin Piao, Long Live the Victory of People's War!

People ask, what is the nature of the revolution that we talk about? Who will it be made by, and for, and what are its goals and strategy?

The overriding consideration in answering these questions is that the main struggle going on in the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it. This is essential in defining political matters in the whole world: because it is by far the most powerful, every other empire and petty dictator is in the long run dependent on US imperialism, which has unified, allied with, and defended all of the reactionary forces of the whole world. Thus, in considering every other force or phenomenon, from Soviet imperialism or Israeli imperialism to 'workers struggle' in France or Czechoslovakia, we determine who are our friends and who are our enemies according to whether they help US imperialism or fight to defeat it.

TOP SECRET

So the very first question people in this country must ask in considering the question of revolution is where they stand in relation to the United States as an oppressor nation, and where they stand in relation to the masses of people throughout the world whom US imperialism is oppressing.

The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world. It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world....

The goal is the destruction of US imperialism and the achievement of a classless world: world communism. Winning state power in the US will occur as a result of the military forces of the US overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal; struggle within the US will be a vital part of this process, but when the revolution triumphs in the US it will have been made by the people of the whole world. For socialism to be defined in national terms within so extreme and historical an oppressor nation as this is only imperialist national chauvinism on the part of the 'movement'....

VI. INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

What is the strategy of this international revolutionary movement? What are the strategic weaknesses of the imperialists which make it possible for us to win? Revolutionaries around the world are in general agreement on the answer, which Lin Piao describes in the following way:

> US imperialism is stronger, but also more vulnerable, than any imperialism of the past. It sets itself against the people of the whole world,

> including the people of the United States. Its human, military, material and financial resources are far from sufficient for the realization of its ambition of domination over the whole world. US imperialism has further weakened itself by occupying so many places in the world, over-reaching itself, stretching its fingers out wide and dispersing its strength, with its rear so far away and its supply lines so long.
>
> --Long Live the Victory of People's War

The strategy which flows from this is what Che called 'creating two, three, many Vietnams'--to mobilize the struggle so sharply in so many places that the imperialists cannot possibly deal with it all. Since it is essential to their interests, they will try to deal with it all, and will be defeated and destroyed in the process.

In defining and implementing this strategy, it is clear that the vanguard (that is, the section of the people who are in the forefront of the struggle and whose class interests and needs define the terms and tasks of the revolution) of the 'American Revolution' is the workers and oppressed peoples of the colonies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Because of the level of special oppression of black people as a colony, they reflect the interests of the oppressed people of the world from within the borders of the United States; they are part of the Third World and part of the international revolutionary vanguard.

The vanguard role of the Vietnamese and other Third World countries in defeating US imperialism has been clear to our movement for some time. What has not been so clear is the vanguard role black people have played, and

continue to play, in the development of revolutionary consciousness and struggle within the United States. Criticisms of the black liberation struggle as being 'reactionary' or of black organizations on campus as being conservative or 'racist' very often express this lack of understanding. These ideas are incorrect and must be defeated if a revolutionary movement is going to be built among whites....

...The fact that the Vietnamese are winning weakens the enemy, advancing the possibilities for the black struggle, etc. But it is important for us to understand that the interrelationship is more than this. Black people do not simply 'choose' to intensify their struggle because they want to help the Vietnamese, or because they see that Vietnam heightens the possibilities for struggle here. The existence of any one Vietnam, especially a winning one, spurs on others not only through consciousness and choice, but through need, because it is a political and economic, as well as military, weakening of capitalism, and this means that to compensate, the imperialists are forced to intensify their oppression of other people....

VII. THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT: CLASS ANALYSIS

...We have pointed to the vanguard nature of the black struggle in this country as part of the international struggle against American imperialism, and the impossibility of anything but an international strategy for winning. Any attempt to put forth a strategy which, despite internationalist rhetoric, assumes a purely internal development to the class struggle in this country, is incorrect. The Vietnamese (and the Uruguayans and the Rhodesians) and the blacks and Third World peoples in this country will continue to set the terms for class struggle in America...

VIII. WHY A REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT?

...As imperialism struggles to hold together this decaying social fabric, it inevitably resorts to brute force and authoritarian ideology. People, especially young people, more and more find themselves in the iron grip of authoritarian institutions. Reaction against the pigs or teachers in the schools, welfare pigs or the army, is generalizable and extends beyond the particular repressive institution to the society and the State as a whole. The legitimacy of the State is called into question for the first time in at least 30 years, and the anti-authoritarianism which characterizes the youth rebellion turns into rejection of the State, a refusal to be socialized into American society. Kids used to try to beat the system from inside the army or from inside the schools; now they desert from the army and burn down the schools.

The crisis in imperialism has brought about a breakdown in bourgeois social forms, culture and ideology. The family falls apart, kids leave home, women begin to break out of traditional 'female' and 'mother' roles. There develops a 'generation gap' and a 'youth problem.' Our heroes are no longer struggling businessmen, and we also begin to reject the ideal career of the professional and look to Mao, Che, the Panthers, the Third World, for our models, for motion....

...The point of the revolutionary youth movement strategy is to move from a predominant student elite base to more oppressed (less privileged) working-class youth as a way of deepening and expanding the revolutionary youth movement--not of giving up what we have gained, not giving up our old car for a new Dodge. This is part of a strategy to reach the entire working class to engage in struggle against imperialism; moving from more privileged sections of white working-class youth to more oppressed sections to the

entire working class as a whole, including importantly what has classically been called the industrial proletariat. But this should not be taken to mean that there is a magic moment, after we reach a certain percentage of the working class, when all of a sudden we become a working-class movement. We are already that if we put forward internationalist proletarian politics....

The above arguments make it clear that it is both important and possible to reach young people wherever they are--not only in the shops, but also in the schools, in the army and in the streets--so as to recruit them to fight on the side of the oppressed peoples of the world. Young people will be part of the International Liberation Army. The necessity to build this International Liberation Army in America leads to certain priorities in practice for the revolutionary youth movement which we should begin to apply this summer....

IX. IMPERIALISM IS THE ISSUE

> The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletariat of different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various states of development which the struggle of the working-class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.
>
> --Communist Manifesto

...In every case, our aim is to raise anti-imperialist and anti-racist consciousness and tie the struggles of working-class youth (and all working people) to the struggles of Third World people, rather than merely joining fights to improve material conditions, even though these fights are certainly justified. This is not to say that we don't take immediate fights seriously, or fight hard in them, but that we are always up front with our politics, knowing that people in the course of struggle are open to a class line, ready to move beyond narrow self-interest....

XIII. THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The RYM must also lead to the effective organization needed to survive and to create another battlefield of the revolution. A revolution is a war; when the Movement in this country can defend itself militarily against total repression it will be part of the revolutionary war.

This will require a cadre organization, effective secrecy, self-reliance among the cadres, and an integrated relationship with the active mass-based Movement. To win a war with an enemy as highly organized and centralized as the imperialists will require a (clandestine) organization of revolutionaries, having also a unified 'general staff'; that is, combined at some point with discipline under one centralized leadership. Because war is political, political tasks--the international communist revolution--must guide it. Therefore the centralized organization of revolutionaries must be a political organization as well as military, what is generally called a 'Marxist-Leninist'party....

...These conditions for the development of a revolutionary party in this country are the main'conditions' for winning. There are two kinds of tasks for us.

One is the organization of revolutionary collectives within the Movement. Our theory must come from practice, but it can't be developed in isolation. Only a collective pooling of our experiences can develop a thorough understanding of the complex conditions in this country. In the same way, only our collective efforts toward a common plan can adequately test the ideas we develop. The development of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist collective formations which undertake this concrete evaluation and application of the lessons of our work is not just the task of specialists or leaders, but the responsibility of every revolutionary. Just as a collective is necessary to sum up experiences and apply them locally, equally the collective inter-relationship of groups all over the country is necessary to get an accurate view of the whole movement and to apply that in the whole country. Over time, those collectives which prove themselves in practice to have the correct understanding (by the results they get) will contribute toward the creation of a unified revolutionary party.

The most important task for us toward making the revolution, and the work our collectives should engage in, is the creation of a mass revolutionary movement, without which a clandestine revolutionary party will be impossible. A revolutionary mass movement is different from the traditional revisionist mass base of 'sympathizers.' Rather it is akin to the Red Guard in China, based on the full participation and involvement of masses of people in the practice of making revolution; a movement with a full willingness to participate in the violent and illegal struggle. It is a movement diametrically opposed to the elitist idea that only leaders are smart enough or interested enough to accept full revolutionary conclusions. It is a movement built on the basis of faith in the masses of people.

The task of collectives is to create this kind of movement. (The party is not a substitute for it, and in fact is totally dependent on it.) This will be done at this stage principally among youth, through implementing the Revolutionary Youth Movement strategy discussed in this paper. It is practice at this, and not political 'teachings' in the abstract, which will determine the relevance of the political collectives which are formed.

The strategy of the RYM for developing an active mass base, tying the city-wide fights to community and city-wide anti-pig movement, and for building a party eventually out of this motion, fits with the world strategy for winning the revolution, builds a movement oriented toward power, and will become one division of the International Liberation Army, while its battlefields are added to the many Vietnams which will dismember and dispose of US imperialism. Long Live the Victory of People's War!

Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism.

In May, 1974, the Weather Underground published "Prairie Fire" (PF) which is self-described as the "Political Statement of the Weather Underground," a "strategy for anti-imperialism and revolution inside the U.S." In a letter dated May 9, 1974, which is set forth in the forward to PF, and which bears the names BERNARDINE DOHRN, JEFF JONES and BILL AYERS, the WUO restates their political ideology. In PF the Weatherpeople re-enforce their view that revolutionary violence is necessary; that armed struggle is the primary consideration for the revolutionary. DOHRN, JONES and AYERS call for a "revolutionary communist party" to "lead the struggle" to "give coherence and direction to the fight," to "seize power and build a new society." Expressing the commitment of their international obligations, PF reveals:

> We made the choice to become a guerrilla organization at a time when the Vietnamese were fighting a heroic people's war, defeating half a million troops and the most technologically advanced military power. In our own hemisphere Che Guevara urged that we 'create two, three, many Vietnams,' to destroy U.S. imperialism by cutting it off in the Third World tentacle by tentacle, and opening another front within the U.S. itself. At home, the struggle and insurrection of the Black liberation movement heightened our commitment to fight alongside the determined enemies of the empire.
>
> This defined our international responsibility and our duty as white revolutionaries inside the oppressor nation. We are part of a wave of revolution sparked by the Black liberation struggle, by the death of Che in Bolivia in 1967, and by people's war in Vietnam. This period forged out belief in the revolutionary necessity of clandestine and armed struggle.

PF is particularly clear on the WUO stand on the need for armed struggle - and where this struggle is to take place:

We believe that carrying out armed struggle will effect the people's consciousness of the nature of the struggle against the state. By beginning the armed struggle, the awareness of its necessity will be furthered. This is no less true in the U.S. than in other countries throughout the world. Revolutionary action generates revolutionary consciousness; growing consciousness develops revolutionary action. Action teaches the lessons of fighting, and demonstrates that armed struggle is possible.

At this early stage in the armed and clandestine struggle, our forms of combat and confrontation are few and precise. Our organized forces are small, the enemy's forces are huge. We live inside the oppressor nation, particularly suited to urban guerrilla warfare. We are strategically situated in the nerve centers of the international empire, where the institutions and symbols of imperial power are concentrated. The cities will be a major battleground, for the overwhelming majority of people live in the cities; the cities are our terrain.

Further, the necessity for a concrete political explanation of an armed action, e.g., an underground "communique" which accompanies a bombing will continue to be the practice of the WUO. PF states in this regard:

> Mass struggle and movements are not mere spectators in revolutionary war; armed struggle cannot become a spectacle. It is the responsibility of mass leaders and organizations to encourage and support revolutionary armed struggle, in open as well as quiet ways. Actions are more powerful when they are explained and armed intervention can be publicly championed and built on. Parallel mass support will further both the mass and military struggle.

In defining their goals, the WUO constantly iterates an action-oriented theme in PF:

TOP SECRET

We have an urgent responsibility: to destroy imperialism from within in order to help free the world and ourselves from its grasp. Without underestimating the difficulties this is our position of strength. We use all the weapons available to us. This necessarily includes mass militant action and guerrilla action to lay the foundation for the decisive armed struggle.

This paper is a strategy for revolutionary anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism defines our struggle and direction, helps us correctly identify our enemy and our friends, and is the necessary basis for advancing our movement. The strategic weak point of empire today is its hold on its external and internal colonies, and it is here that imperialism receives the heaviest blows.

Our final goal is the destruction of imperialism, the seizure of power, and the creation of socialism.

Ideologically, PF internationally identifies the primary contradiction facing revolutionaries in the following light:

The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to Mao and Ho Chi Minh - that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism - is the guiding strategic principle of this era.

PF pays special homage to black liberation struggles as the leading force to bring about revolution. Calling the black nation in the U.S. the "second largest Black nation in the world," PF decries racism as a weapon of the ruling class "deliberately fashioned" to oppress black people. PF envisions the cities of the U.S. as the Third World territory wherein

TOP SECRET

60

urban guerrilla warfare will take place. PF also equates the women's movement in revolutionary terms, stating there is "particular importance in women learning to fight...Women fighters are frightening apparitions to the enemy and examples for us." The WUO continues its line extolling the militancy of women, a feature of the Weatherman from its initiation in 1969.

Finally, PF with its identification of U.S. imperialism as "the enemy of all humankind," restates the goals of the Weatherman Underground as:

> Our goal is to attack imperialism's ability to exploit and wage war against all oppressed peoples. Our final goal is the complete destruction of imperialism, the seizure of the means of production and the building of socialism. To create the conditions in which we can take the offensive, destroy the old system and build a new life, we must weaken and at least partly destroy the empire. The weakest points of empire lie in its control of the colonies, and this is why Third World liberation is leading the struggle against imperialism.

Internationalism

> Revolutionaries are internationalists. Our job is to build international class consciousness, to make connections among people. A good program must synthesize — not separate — the struggles of Third World peoples with our own: to uncover the relationship between Watergate and the Vietnam War, to nourish our identification with the struggle of Cuban women rather than our distinctness, to find the commonality between the white worker and the unemployed Puerto Rican. A good program mobilizes and teaches.

In their closing statement, the Weatherman Underground restates what they believe to be the key tactic in seizing state power - militant action - in the following way:

A movement has no reason to exist if it doesn't fight. The system needs to be overthrown; revolutionaries must prepare for that necessity at all points along the way. Revolutionary movements must be contending for power, planning how to contend for power, or recovering from setbacks suffered in contending for power. Certainly every movement must learn to fight correctly, sometimes retreating, sometimes advancing. But fighting the enemy must be its reason for being. We build a fighting movement.

Militancy stirs the imagination and raises the vision of victory. Militancy in a street demonstration, in a courtroom, in a rally, in a prison takeover, is recognized and respected as an uncompromising statement. It is a confrontation with the opposing system. Involving people in militant action trains and teaches. It is both an example and a strategy. Militant action is related to the understanding that the struggle is not merely for separate issues but is ultimately for power - necessarily including armed struggle to defeat the oppressive forces of state."

Thusly, in May, 1974, the WUO emerged from anonymity in the form of "Prairie Fire," to restate their politics of revolution. In substance the line set forth in PF continues to be their basic ideological document: it promotes armed struggle as the necessity to defeat the State although it observes the requirement that mass organization is also a tactic to build the revolutionary movement; it calls for a revolutionary communist party to lead the struggle but fails to outline even minimal tasks which would lead to the formation of such a party; it neither uses the words proletariat or working class but rather once again addresses itself to the counter culture and oppressed sectors of society as the motive forces for revolution.

TOP SECRET

"Osawatomie"
1975-1976

The WUO began the publication of "Osawatomie" in the spring of 1975; each issue carries the following self identification:

> The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in 'Subterranean Homesick Blues,' a popular song in the last decade: 'You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows,' for five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

Calling for unity among the left and asserting that U.S. imperialism has entered a state of decline, the Central Committee of the WUO makes an important assessment of the role of the revolutionary in society - that an identification with the masses is the task of the left and that the study and practice of Marxism-Leninism is essential. The Spring, 1975, issue of "Osawatomie" states:

> The immediate task for the left is this: organize the masses of people against imperialism and for revolution. Pull together friends and comrades, whether three or thirty. Explain the roots of the current economic and social crisis. Fight for jobs and for funds for urgent relief programs. Wealth should be taken from the Pentagon budget and used to rebuild our cities, schools and hospitals.
>
> Revolutionaries must be organizers. Leftists who are uncomfortable on the unemployment line won't lead a march for jobs. Without the

53

habit of revolutionary practice among the people, a generation of firebrands will slowly cool into positions of comfortable opposition.

Theory and ideology are important tools, and we should make study of Marxism-Leninism an important part of our work. Marxism-Leninism is a necessary guide for both understanding the contradictions of class society and developing correct revolutionary strategy. How will an organizer know if a particular theory is correct? Practice. Work among the people and learn from them. It is the oppressed and exploited people who understand the wretchedness of this system in detail, and it is the people who will create the ultimate solutions. Waiting to begin until the theory is fully worked out is to create the certainty of failure.

And in the Summer, 1975, issue of "Osawatomie," the Central Committee of the WUO concluded:

We see three urgent and immediate jobs for the revolutionary movement:

First, we must build a revolutionary anti-imperialist and antiracist base among the oppressed and exploited. We must join the struggles of the people, identify with their anger and suffering and develop the full potential of their fight against the state....

Second, we need unity among all the anti-imperialist forces. Without a broad alliance and coming together on a simple and revolutionary basis the anti-imperialist movement will be doomed in ineffectiveness, reapplication of effort, localism and isolation of each of the parts from the whole. Principled unity of revolutionary forces is past due....

Third, we must struggle to build principled working relationships with Black and Third World people and organizations. White revolutionaries have largely cut themselves off from these relationships. Great opportunities exist at this time, waiting to be seized....

In order to accomplish all these things, we need breakthroughs in developing class analysis, an analysis capable of uniting the many to defeat the few. This is more difficult than repeating general understandings or making vague assertions. This means defining with precision every class and every sector within every class, and how each sector lines up at each stage in the struggle against imperialism. It means being able finally to develop a program which can unite all revolutionary classes and win over or neutralize other classes in order to isolate and defeat the ruling class.

"Our Class Stand" by
BERNARDINE DOHRN

The Autumn, 1975, issue of "Osawatomie," a publication of the WUO, carried a lead article by BERNARDINE DOHRN entitled "Our Class Stand." It is characterized as a speech given by DOHRN to a national meeting of WUO cadres on September 2, 1975. It is significant in that for the first time the WUO identifies its revolutionary mission in classical Marxist-Leninist terminology. Not only does DOHRN admit past errors in their collective failure to study Marxism-Leninism but most importantly their stereotyped view of the working class as pro-war, white, hard-hat mistakenly ignored the very class (proletariat) which could successfully overthrow the State apparatus. DOHRN states:

> We are building a communist organization to be part of the forces which build a revolutionary communist party <u>to lead the working class</u> to seize power and build socialism. This involves taking responsibility for every aspect of the struggle. This is our direction.
>
> We must further the study of Marxism-Leninism in the WUO. The struggle for Marxism-Leninism is the most significant development in our recent history. Two years ago, when we began organization-wide study of Marxism-Leninism, we were attempting to reorganize

after a long period of dispersal and fragmentation. We were debilitated, like many forces in the movement, by an ideology of pragmatism....

...When the study finally started, we realized that most members had never studied Marxism-Leninism, and our study has liberated a new spirit in us, a hunger for knowledge and ideology....

The study furthered the unity of the WUO, and enabled us to push forward and write Prairie Fire. We discovered thru our own experiences what revolutionaries all over the world have found -- that Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution, the revolutionary ideology of the working class, our guide to the struggle....

Yet we have to recognize that we have also historically downplayed the role and potential of the US working class;...In seeing only potential errors, we have ignored the historic mission of the working class and failed to energetically pursue our task of forging it into a conscious class, prepared to fight for the interests of the class as a whole. This cautious, one-sided and incorrect view of class struggle is a major weakness. It is wrong.

With hard times gripping the people and crisis everywhere, now is the time to re-examine our political line and shatter some of the stereotypes which still hold us back from organizing the working class to fulfill its historic mission -- the total destruction of US imperialism, the seizure of power, and the building of socialism. The task of revolutionaries is to forge a conscious working class -- militant, dedicated to eradicating racism from its ranks, internationalist, conscious of its own responsibility and power. Organizers must examine their base and their practice. This is a healthy and necessary development. Organizers must be based in the working class and join the people's struggles to get the depression off our backs.

"Our Class Stand" signified a dramatic departure from past WUO polemics. The developing commitment to Marxism-Leninism as the true science of the revolutionary with the understanding that the working class is the motive force which can bring about revolution placed the WUO in competition with other revolutionary organizations that proffer Marxist-Leninist political views. It also signified a politically deeper, less adventuristic role for the WUO which extolled study, education and propaganda work in cementing their ties to the working class.

In further defining the WUO political outlook, BERNARDINE DOHRN in "Osawatomie," Winter, 1975-76, admits that the "foco" theory of guerrilla warfare which they once embraced is wrong. This admission is, overall, the single most important statement by any WUO leader since they entered the underground in 1970. It rejects DEBRAY's thesis that biology not ideology is the primary factor for successful revolution and, importantly, rejects the Cuban revolution as their guide. In a commentary on the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), DOHRN writes in "Osawatomie," Winter 1975-76 issue:

> The SLA and many other guerrilla groups place the military in command of the whole struggle. We once held this position, known as the foco theory, and we believe it is wrong. They hold that leadership of the movement is established through armed action alone, that guerrilla struggle itself politicizes and activates the people. In practice, they evaluate other forces primarily by their support or lack of support for armed struggle. This is wrong.
>
> Armed struggle is an inevitable consequence of the violence of imperialism...The whole apparatus of official force and violence serves the interests of the capitalist class, by enforcing the brutal combat of daily life in class society. This is the nature of society based on exploitation. Armed struggle is necessary to overturn it. The people who suffer under these conditions and those who join them have a right and a duty to take up arms against US imperialism.

The task of revolutionaries is to organize this spontaneous activity successfully: to organize the working class to seize power and establish socialism. Our goal is revolution, not armed struggle....

Putting politics in command means developing all activity to organize the working class and oppressed people, and to build organization....

Revolution is the work of the masses. Their consciousness and organization is decisive. Only in the practical work of building the class struggle can we develop the guerrilla struggle into popular armed struggle. The working class must be organized and prepared, as well as inspired and challenged. This requires intimate and active participation in peoples' struggles, and cannot be left to someone else or to example alone.

...Organization is the most powerful weapon of the working class. The party is the instrument which is capable of leading the whole fight of the people.

We would disagree with those who would have armed struggle wait for the creation of a leading proletarian party. Armed struggle is established, and as long as imperialism has a hold fighters will rise up against it. The task is to organize it and lead it politically in the service of revolution. Yet we also disagree with those whose strategy is to build an army instead of a party -- who see only armed struggle as strategic, who ridicule the process of developing political analysis and organization, and who abandon the process to the opportunists and dogmatists. We need unified organization, not by declaration, but by the difficult process of building it.

TOP SECRET

The spring 1976 issue of "Osawatomie" reveals the continued development of the WUO as a Marxist-Leninist organization, wherein the Central Committee has accepted the tenet of MAO Tse-tung that the present epoch is one of socialist revolution throughout the world. In a much clearer light, they identify their main tasks which indicate their awareness that in order to implement their stated political commitment to Marxism-Leninism the necessity of a disciplined vanguard organization is essential. In the April-May, 1976, issue of "Osawatomie," the Central Committee reported:

> The US is an imprisoner of nations, founded on the attempted genocide of Native American people and the theft of Native and Mexicano lands, enriched by the slave labor of Black people and the super-exploited labor of other peoples brought here to build the railroads, dig the mines, and work the fields. The struggles of the Black nation and other oppressed peoples in the US are part of the worldwide movement for national lberation. At the same time these struggles are intertwined with the US class struggle and push forward the working class movement.
>
> This is the era of socialist revolution in the world. In the socialist countries, there is no unemployment,no inflation, no starvation. The entirecapitalist world, however, is today shaken by a profound economic crisis, one which reveals all the irrationality and contradictions of capitalism. This is not just a 'business cycle' crisis, it is a crisis of imperialism in decline....
>
> Today the two main tasks of our movement are: 1) To build an anti-imperialist working class movement that can join with the oppressed peoples, overthrow imperialism and establish socialism; and 2) To build a communist party to lead the struggle.

No Marxist-Leninist denies the necessity of armed struggle. The centrality of the debate on this issue among revolutionaries is primarily that of timing. Should a revolutionary situation not exist, should the masses not be sufficiently antagonized by the ruling class, the carrying out of armed violence is, within the revolutionary left, adventurism. When Weatherman engaged in sabotage and bombings in their early years they were castigated by the communist left not for having engaged in confrontations against the state but rather for engaging in such activity at a time when they had no chance of encouraging a revolutionary situation. In 1976, however, a more mature WUO makes a similar criticism against the SLA, thusly coming to grips with their own early adventuristic failures. The WUO does not reject armed struggle, however. But the WUO of 1976 recognizes that politics comes first; that violence is subsumed within a recognizable revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism. Their view is summed up in the following document issued in the spring of 1976:

"Politics in Command" by CELIA SOJOURN and BILLY AYERS, Weather Underground Organization

The Necessity of Violent Revolution

> There are many on the left who self-righteously condemn all violence of revolutionaries. They are keeping their own hands clean by avoiding the full consequences of revolutionary ideas. For these people, the revolution will happen only some day and hopefully be made by somebody else. But power concedes nothing without a demand. Armed struggle is an extension of political struggle, just as war is politics with bloodshed. Under certain historical conditions political struggle leads necessarily to armed conflict. When a small ruling class maintains itself in power by force and violence, when the masses of people are forced to work and live in brutalized and violent conditions, political struggle both peaceful and violent is the inevitable result.

Reactionary capitalist violence is criminal: revolutionary violence will bring about the new society. Marxism-Leninism holds that 'the fundamental question of every revolution is the question of power.' Marx considered violence as 'the midwife of all old societies about to bring forth a new one.' The capitalist system of private property is protected forcibly by a group of violent, dangerous men. The development of mass revolutionary violence is essential to smash the state of the exploiters and to wrest power from the armed defenders of imperialism.

Politics in Command

Our job is not only to carry out action -- that is comparatively simple. Our job is to succeed in making a revolution. The guerrillas, like all revolutionaries, bear the responsibility of developing full political strategy, and a mistake in military strategy can be deadly. The stakes are high, not only for the people and organizations carrying out military work, but for the course of the revolution. Ho Chi Minh said, 'a military without politics is like a tree without roots -- useless and dangerous.' That is why we use the slogan 'Politics in Command.'

Our goal is to build communist organization toward the stage where armed struggle becomes a mass phenomenon led by a Marxist-Leninist party: a revolutionary stage. Organization is the strongest resource of the people. Organization unites and builds and means that each day's efforts add up. Organization is made up of individuals but is bigger and longer lasting than any one individual. Individuals are precious but organization is decisive. Only organization allows continuity of experience and leadership, and carries the deeds of the individual fighters beyond themselves into the future....

The strategic necessity for this period is to mobilize the oppressed and exploited people against US imperialism. Militarily this is the stage of armed propaganda; the test of action is primarily the ability to win the people....

...But revolutionary violence must be specific, comprehensible to the people, and humane. The violence of the revolution must be clearly distinguished to the oppressed and exploited people from the violence of capitalist society. People do not need us to be fearful, or to create chaos. Chaos prevails. Our task is to show the way out of the madness....

...We must never hesitate to fight, but we must never build any mystification about violence. We must be a force of armed militants, not militarists....

We do not condemn violence that originates from the left, just as we do not condemn violence against the state that originates from the working class. The oppressed peoples and the working class have a right and an obligation to develop armed struggle as a means to liberation.

It is a right wing error to argue that only legal forms of struggle are legitimate. For some, no level of mass struggle will justify armed struggle; these are naive and irresponsible people, never ready to raise the question of violence or of the need to fight and ultimately win state power....

...Our revolution will need both open and clandestine movements, legal and illegal struggle, peaceful and armed struggle -- and we will need harmony and organization among all levels of the struggle toward the goal of a revolutionized and fighting people.

B. INTERNATIONALISM -- WUO STATEMENTS WHICH SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The Meaning of Proletarian Internationalism and the Commitment of the WUO, formerly Weatherman, to the International Communist Movement

> "Whatever else may be said of them the Weathermen (and women) are true believers. Unless you understand that, you will never understand Weathermen."
>
> Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech
> "CUBA: School for US Radicals"
> October, 1970: "Chicago Sun Times"

> "Because war is political, political tasks--the international communist revolution must guide it."
>
> "You Don't Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows"
> "New Left Notes," June 18, 1969

Proletarian internationalism is a bedrock concept of Marxism-Leninism which allows for the joining up of the fundamental commonality of the working class and oppressed of all countries regardless of the distinctiveness of their national cultures and traditions. The Leninist slogan "Workers of All Lands and Oppressed Peoples, Unite" embodies the true meaning of Marxism-Leninism. It establishes the universality of its character and, as such, transcends mere geographical borders of nation states. Marx and Engels observed in the "Communist Manifesto" that the national struggles of the proletariat in different countries brings to the fore "the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality." Proletarian internationalism thusly became the key principle of Marxism-Leninism which established its universality. Marxism-Leninism welds together internationalism and revolution, the aim of which is to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the world.

"Revolutionaries are internationalists. Our job is to build international class consciousness, to make connections among people. A good program must synthesize - not separate - the struggles of Third World peoples with our own; to nourish our identification with the struggle of Cuban woman rather than our distinctness, to find the commonality between the white worker and the unemployed Puerto Rican. A good program mobilizes and teaches."

"Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism" May, 1974

V. I. Lenin (Collected Works) on developing ties between fraternal revolutionaries called for "the creation of a single world economy regulated by the proletariat of all nations as an integral whole and according to a common plan." This feature of Marxism-Leninism teaches that the revolutionary approach is a class question which presupposes international solidarity of the proletariat and thusly merges naturally with national struggles.

"All our actions must flow from our identity as part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism."

Bill Ayers-Michigan SDS
"Hot Town: Summer in the City; Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement," March, 1969

The diversity of interpretation of Marxism-Leninism since the late 1950s led to the creation of three distinct centers of world revolution which were present for the emerging student-youth activist of the 1960s. (See Comments on Regis DeBray "Revolution in the Revolution?") But such diversity has not effected the imperative of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary to identify their national interests in an international sense nor to embrace one of the three centers. Hence, the Weatherman's early affiliation with the Cuban revolution and their continued regard for the Chinese revolution flowed from and enhanced the principle of

proletarian internationalism even though the international communist movement had suffered a fracturing from a single center, Moscow, to three centers.

> "Internationalism
>
> "Internationalism is fundamental to the Cuban revolution. The Cubans understand this from their own point of view: (Che) 'If (a revolutionary's) eagerness becomes dulled when the most urgent tasks are carried on a local scale, and if he forgets about proletarian internationalism, the revolution that he leads ceases to be a driving force and it sinks into a comfortable drowsiness which is taken advantage of by imperialism, our irreconcilable enemy, to gain ground. Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary need. This is how we educate our people.'
>
> They also understand that imperialism must be destroyed before communism can really exist in any country: 'Humanity comes before one's own country,' quoted Fidel, and 'communism cannot be built in one country in the midst of an underdeveloped world.'
>
> The Cubans have taken the position that in the Third World, armed struggle is the fundamental road to the seizure of power, and that all other forms of struggle must be subordinated to it. They also understand the importance of a revolution from within the heart of imperialism: the imperialists will be destroyed by the combined revolutionary movements from within and outside. Che's call for two, three, many Viet-Nams includes a call for the creation of a Viet-Nam within the very boundaries of the imperialist Mother Country: the United States....
>
> * * * * *

...As participants in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement, we fully support the Cuban revolution on the basis of the following:...

(3) Cuba has developed a new concept of internationalism, expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana: 'the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution.' Che's call for two, three, many Viet-Nams' is a strategy for the defeat of imperialism, and the guiding concept for a new International centered in the Third World and linked to New Left struggles in the advanced capitalist countries.

(4) Since Cuba is the first liberated territory in the Americas, it is under constant attack by the U.S. Government. As North Americans dedicated to the destruction of imperialism, it is our obligation to oppose our government's policies in the most effective concrete way possible."

"Proposal on the Cuban Revolution," by Julie Nichamin, Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-First Congress, Second Session, Part 4, June 10, 1970

V. I. Lenin formulated the international and national revolutionary processes as: "Proletarian internationalism in the epoch of imperialism presupposes maximum utilization of the possibilities of revolutionary action opening up before every country." Hence, wherein the dialectics of the national brings about particular advances in the revolutionary process, the dialectics of the international reveals the universal aspects of the world-wide revolutionary process.

In a sense, internationalism is refracted through the lens of national struggles; the revolutionary when dealing with tactical problems in his daily struggles finds his meaning in his identification with international situations.

> "Our enemy is U.S. imperialism, the enemy of all humankind. Our goal is to attack imperialism's ability to exploit and wage war against all oppressed peoples. Our final goal is the complete destruction of imperialism, the seizure of the means of production and the building of socialism. To create the conditions in which we can take the offensive, destroy the old system and build a new life, we must weaken and at least partly destroy the empire. The weakest points of empire lies in its control of the colonies, and this is why Third World liberation is leading the struggle against imperialism."
>
> "Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism"
> May, 1974

There are, therefore, no national boundaries which constrain the Marxist-Leninist drive toward revolution. By definition the revolutionary who embraces Marxism-Leninism owes his allegiance, loyalty if you will, to the international communist movement. V. I. Lenin said, "A true internationalist must not think of ones own nation, but place above it the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality...he must generally consider the whole and the general and subordinate the particular to the general interest."

The Weatherman move toward armed struggle was distinctly part of their internationalist approach to revolution firstly, because the Vietnamese needed such support and secondly, because they felt the revolutionary consciousness of the American masses would be heightened by the impending victory of the Third World over American imperialism. The National Action called for the fall of 1969 was deemed to be the major effort which would bring to youth a revolutionary class consciousness. The

opening of another front in the international revolutionary struggle under the slogan "Bring The War Home" would both serve to defeat U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and create the conditions for real revolution in the heart of the "monster."

> "I think that the national action has to be seen in the context of a strategy that's going to win, that's going to help the NLF concretely, that's going to build Weatherman, and that's going to build a fighting revolutionary youth movement....
>
> I think people should push out this slogan 'Bring The War Home.' We're not just saying bring the troops home, bring the US troops home and deploy them some place some other time, we're saying bring the war home...
>
> I think people understand how this kind of action at this time, given the whole thing in Paris and the situation the Vietnamese are in now, can concretely aid the Vietnamese. The other thing that people have to get confident about is that we can build a revolutionary youth movement."
>
> Bill Ayers, Educational Secretary, SDS; National Action Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, August 29-September 1, 1969
> New Left Notes; September 12, 1969

> "Political questions are questions of strategy. Strategy is about winning; about, in this case, smashing US imperialism. The reason white people in this country have to be internationalist is not that it makes us more moral to share our privilege with the people of the world, but it's how we're gonna win, how we will be part of the worldwide resolution of the worldwide contradictions between the oppressed nations and US imperialism.

The strategy for winning is "two, three, many Vietnams," more and more wars of national liberation won by the oppressed peoples of the world.

The way Americans will aid the victory of the people of the world is to materially support these wars of national liberation by helping to create a front in support of black and brown liberation here, and by tearing up in the gut of the monster. Destroying the bureaucracy, the pig army, showing initially that the US not only can't hold together an empire, but cant even hold together white people.

So, in America, the central task of the left is the development of a detachment of the international army. Which primarily means winning the people to the side of the NLF, the black liberation struggle, and moving to armed struggle as soon as possible. For the world revolution is already happening, and every leap in the development of our struggle hastens incredibly the victory of the people of the world. It is in this light that we must look at questions of adventurism, beating the people, and blah blah blah...

The problem is not one of identifying "political principles," but one of answering strategic questions. The central question is how is American imperialism being smashed? And from that, where we are now, where do we have to go, how are we going to get there? On the worldwide level it's clear that we are not in a 'pre-revolutionary' stage; we are in the middle of a world war, escalating and opening new fronts every day. It is this world war which will smash

imperialism for all the peoples of the world, including white Americans."

"Principles Schminiciples" by
Howard Machtinger,
"New Left Notes," November 21, 1969

The "domestic" revolutionary then sees his obligation, responsibility and duty not with a narrow nationalism but rather with an international outlook. His destiny is intertwined with the developing ties made with fraternal international contacts and, over-all he ensures his revolutionary destiny, e.g., the seizure of state power, through the support given and received by the international revolutionary movement. For Weatherman, his meaning came directly from his identification with the North Vietnamese and Cubans. The syndicated series by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech more nearly describes what the Cuban revolution and Castro meant to the Weathermen and other New Left revolutionaries than any other article of its time.

Portions of the series reflecting this influence are as follows:

> Fidel Castro's Cuba has become a revolutionary factory for the processing and refining of American radicals for export back to the United States.
>
> The pattern is clear:
>
> Mark Rudd, fugitive leader of America's violent left, visited Cuba in February and March of 1968 with 20 other activists of the Students for a Democratic Society.
>
> Two months later, with Rudd at the helm, Columbia University was reduced to chaos.
>
> Bernardine Dohrn, mini-skirted Weatherwoman and 30 fellow activists, met with Vietnamese Communists in Havana in July, 1969.
>
> Three months later, with the fiery Bernardine in command, a shocked Chicago watched as several hundred ultra-radical Weathermen staged a wild, window-smashing rampage which they called 'Four Days of Rage' in protest against the Vietnam War.

...Beyond any doubt, Cuba has shaped, supplied technical training to, given political indoctrination for and, perhaps most important of all, served as the inspiration for the American radical movement in its avowed aim to bring down the American system that it so fiercely despises.

. It is their Mecca, their Yenman, their shrine, the 'first liberation territory in the Western Hemisphere,' where they can see the model of the new society to which they aspire.

Experts in the field regard Mark Rudd as the first of the really violent white student radicals. And they look upon his offensive against Columbia as a masterpiece of its kind, far more important than the earlier student riots at Berkeley, Calif.

'There's no doubt that Mark was greatly influenced by his Cuban experience,' said a young New Left journalist.

The ubiquitous Miss Dohrn, a brilliant University of Chicago law school graduate, mapped her antiwar campaign during an eight-day seminar with representatives of Hanoi and the Viet Cong. She journeyed to Havana at their request.

Now a fugitive sought by the FBI, Bernardine was heard from last week when she claimed credit for blowing up for the second time within a year, a police memorial statue in Chicago's Haymarket Square.

Also present at the Havana meeting along with Bernardine were two now deceased Weathermen. They were Diana Oughton and Ted Gold, both killed last March 6 when a Greenwich Village town house, which they and others had converted into a 'bomb factory', was ripped by a series of explosions.

...While Bernardine and her friends were busy taking notes from the Vietnamese Communists, the Castro regime was entertaining another distinguished visitor, Angela Davis.

...What should now be clear is that the raw material for Castro's revolutionary factory was readily available in the form of embittered black and alienated white student radicals who look upon Cuba as their spiritual home and the United States as an "imperialist monster."

Reliable estimates on the number of American radicals who have journeyed to Cuba are hard to come by, even for U.S. intelligence agencies. But a fair estimate is that approximately 4,000 Americans have visited Cuba for varying lengths of time during the last decade.

The visitors cover the whole spectrum of the American New Left: bomb-throwing, hard-core radicals bent on overthrowing the U.S. government; left-wing professors; cop-killing blacks, and starry-eyed teen-agers who go down to help Castro cut sugar cane or pick oranges.

...A doctrinaire testimonial to the solidarity of the friendship between Cuba and the American left was written by Julie Nichamin, a University of Michigan anthropology student, in an open letter to Verde Olivo, official publication of the Cuban armed forces.

Published Dec. 21, 1969, after a meeting with Cuban and Vietnamese Communists, the letter read:

"The meeting we had today with the Cuban and Vietnamese people has shown us the true meaning of internationalism: "All of us are involved in the same struggle against Yanqui imperialism.... We know that we will leave here with a new dedication to bring back to our brothers and sisters, a dedication to destroy the imperialist monster from within, just as the rest of the peoples of the world are destroying imperialism from without." "

...But action, as the young revolutionaries would be first to agree, speaks louder than words. Action is what it's all about. And as any newspaper reader or television watcher can attest, the American scene has not been lacking in action these last few years.

Part of the action is killing policemen. Such killings are always widely applauded in the Cuban press.

Or take the bombing of the University of Wisconsin Army math center, an event clearly related to the Cuban revolution. The 'communique' left behind by the four young fugitives charged with the crime was addressed to the mysterious 'Marion Delgado Collective.'

It acknowledged that 'revolutionary cadres of our organization were responsible for the bombing.' Destruction of the math center, the note went on, was not an isolated act by a 'lunatic.'

Rather, the note stated, it was a 'conscious action taken in solidarity with the Viet Cong, the Tupamaros and the Cuban people and all other heroic fighters against U.S. imperialism.'

...During the last 18 months there has been a spectacular increase in the number of politically motivated police slayings and bombings. At least 20 policemen have been killed and 100 wounded in apparently unprovoked attacks.

Seven were Chicago policemen, four of whom were gunned down without warning.

...One of the most carefully watched buildings in the United States is an elegant five-story graystone mansion at 6 E. 67th St., just off Fifth Av. in New York City.

At the turn of the century it was the home of American millionaires. Today, it houses the Cuban mission to the United Nations, the major Cuban source of influence, ideology and funds for American radicals.

...On a clandestine level, activity is just as bustling. Secret meetings are held, and funds, advice and influence are dispensed under the huge picture of Che Guevara that hangs amid the antique Chinese vases upstairs in the mansion.

...At the convention of Students for a Democratic Society in Austin, Tex., in March, 1969, several phone calls a day were made to the mission.

...In August, 1969, mission intelligence personnel (everyone except the regular representative to the United Nations is a member of Cuban intelligence) counseled Mark Rudd and Jeff Jones of SDS concerning slogans to be used by SDS in demonstrations planned for that fall.

...Radical leaders admit privately they see the Cuban mission officials "very often." One, after saying so, added, "But please don't print that. They're not supposed to do that, you know."

What becomes clear from the consistent evidence of such contacts is that the love affair between Communist Cuba and the American radicals now has gone beyond curosity and empathy.

It has now reached the stage of hard-core indoctrination and even collaboration.

TOP SECRET

...By 1965 and 1966, Havana was filled with posters honoring the 'heroic Vietnamese people.' The Cubans believed that they were 'in the waiting room,' that if America won the Vietnam War, it 'might just turn around and invade us.'

Havana soon was filled with Vietnamese delegations, Vietnamese 'heroines,' Vietnamese orphans. Cuba opened an embassy to the Viet Cong, and Havana newspapers proudly showed pictures of it — a thatched roof but somewhere behind the battle lines in South Vietnam.

This, too, helped the Cubans with the burgeoning American radical movement, for the war in Vietnam had become their most emotional, overweaning issue. Soon U.S. radicals were meeting with North Vietnamese in Havana, and even getting pointed suggestions on antiwar activities in the United States.

...By 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society had split up into radical, violent groups like the Weatherman.

...The trips were well organized and every radical leader came, usually several times. Most came before they were leaders, which gives added credibility to the idea that Cuba was a major, if not THE, radicalizing factor.

'SDS was the group we concentrated on in those days,' says a Cuban who was in the government then. 'Oh, we didn't start it. But we radicalized it, we gave it form. Every leader came and left with new ideas."

TOP SECRET

...Allen Young, a soft-spoken, attractive young man who until recently was editor of Liberation News Service, answers as well as anyone.

'Fidel, Che Guevara and Regis DeBray are really THE influences on our movements,' he said recently in New York. 'Much of the influence is romantic. Sure, there's romance to it.

'Maybe the kids don't know a thing about it, as some critics say, but that doesn't negate the serious link (between American radicals and Cuba). It IS a serious linkup.

'The thing that was exciting about the Cuban revolution was that it first made the break with the Old Left. Castro was one of the fathers of the New Left, in things like his use of armed struggle in place of parliamentary procedures of the Old Left....'

...The young Americans who go to Cuba or are influenced by its magnetic appeal are not only thereby brought into contact with Cuban techniques and ideas, they are also brought into contact with revolutionary styles and influences from all of Latin America.

Recently American radicals have been copying more and more the Latin urban guerrilla techniques of sniping, crowd direction, assassination, political kidnaping and even bank robbery.

...The young French intellectual, Regis DeBray, who codified Castro's ideas about action and about the rural guerrillas, is another hero of U.S. radicals. His book, 'Revolution in the Revolution?' has become a handbook for the American Revolution.

TOP SECRET

When the Weathermen began using in their literature the term 'foco' - which is Spanish for 'focus' or 'core' - the FBI at first had no idea what they were talking about.

Later they discovered it was straight out of DeBray - and it became of prime importance when the Weathermen, to avoid capture, broke up into five-man 'focos' or, as they call them now, 'affinity groups.'

"Cuba: School for U.S. Radicals"
by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech,
"Chicago Daily News;" October, 1970

77

C. INFLUENCE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

The Emergence of Havana as a Major Center of World Revolution

The international revolutionary movement from World War I through World War II was completely dominated by the Soviet Union. There was only one center of world revolution - Moscow-and with this mecca all revolutionaries who embraced the ideology of Marxism-Leninism identified. The success of the Bolshevik revolution conferred upon Moscow an authority among world-wide revolutionary parties which was unprecedented; the model of successful revolution was embodied in the Communist Party, Soviet Union (CPSU) and all communist parties in the world emulated this success in theory and organization. To solidify their interests, the world communist parties joined together to found the Communist International (Comintern) which existed from 1919 to 1943. And although the Comintern ran the international communist movement, in fact the center of that control was Moscow. (Subsequently, the Cominform existed from 1947 to 1956 and presently the Editorial Staff of the World Marxist Review functions as the organizational body which overseas communist parties aligned with Moscow.)

The balance of world forces changed remarkably after World War II which caused fissures in the relationships among some principal communist parties, notably China and the Soviet Union. China's emergence as a product of successful communist revolution saw her reluctance to follow the Soviet Union; historical and personal differences occasioned the rupture between MAO Tse-tung and Moscow's KHRUSHCHEV. The result was another center of world revolution, Peking, which rivaled Moscow and sought adherents from the militant sections of existing world communist parties. The ideological debate between China and the Soviet Union consumed the interests of Marxist-Leninists during the mid 1950-mid 1960 period. But with the introduction of DE BRAY's "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1967, the true importance of the example of the Cuban revolution came into being. For the youthful revolutionary a new model of successful revolution existed - Havana.

So, in the late 1960s three centers of world revolution existed: Moscow, Peking and Havana. Each had wrought revolution successfully against the ruling class

TOP SECRET

forces which "oppressed" the peoples of their respective countries and it was to China (for theory) and Cuba (for practice) that the emerging revolutionary turned. Hence, the importance of what DE BRAY said.

The influence of the Cuban revolution on the Weatherman was consummated when the WUO adopted the foco method of underground organization and subscribed enthusiastically to the armed struggle principles of the Cuban revolution as detailed by REGIS DE BRAY. Their contacts with the Cubans, revealed in another section of this paper, provided for the Weathermen a true reading of a successful revolutionary process, a new model which was to be admired, emulated and ultimately put into practice in the United States. Guerrilla warfare as codified by DE BRAY was realizable and along with the tactics of the "Peoples War" of the North Vietnamese, the WUO concluded that FIDEL CASTRO was absolutely right when he declared:

"The Duty of a Revolutionary is to Create Revolution"

Hence, when REGIS DE BRAY published "Revolution in the Revolution?" in 1967, the Cuban revolution had placed in print their prescription for successful revolution. A product of discussions with FIDEL CASTRO, "Revolution in the Revolution?" had a tremendous impact on the theoreticians of Marxist-Leninist revolution in that it denied the necessity of a vanguard communist party in the making of revolution, it placed the military before the political and paid only lip service to the developing of mass political action. DE BRAY's theses were extremely important to the emerging revolutionary of the 1960s simply because they provided for them a "new" ideological rationale for their action-oriented confrontations with the State.

REGIS DE BRAY - Theoretician of Guerrilla Warfare

The 1967 book "Revolution in the Revolution?" by the youthful French Marxist REGIS DE BRAY outlined in detail the methodology of the Cuban revolution. It romanticized the principal figures of the Cuban success, FIDEL CASTRO and CHE GUEVARA, and appealed directly to the instinctive but primitive revolutionary tendencies within the New Left. At the same time its major thesis was in direct conflict with the organizational formulations of the Old Left, hence DEBRAY occasioned world-wide debate among Marxist-Leninist Parties. In denying the premise that a Communist Party was necessary to bring about a revolutionary situation, DE BRAY contradicted the main tenet of the Soviet, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions wherein politics before the gun was held sacrosanct.

The appeal to the New Left was instantaneous; their rejection of Old Left inertia had been proven correct, the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party BEFORE engaging in acts against the State was obsolete, guerrilla action was the answer. DEBRAY's chronicle of the Cuban revolution reinforced the outlook of the emerging revolutionary of the New Left that a unique method must be formulated to deal with the unprecedented era in which they lived. DEBRAY offered for revolutionaries of the world another center of world revolution, Havana, that would rival Moscow and Peking.

Understandably his formulation that action not theory was the necessary prerequisite to evolving revolution was assailed by Soviet (and to a lesser degree Chinese) Marxist scholars. The attitude that politics would grow out of the guerrilla experience was dubbed adventuristic by the Marxist critic and in the final analysis the attempt of the Weatherman to similarly effectuate revolution without building a mass base was doomed to failure.

What then did DE BRAY say that was so important to the New Left activist of the late 1960s?

> Under certain conditions, the political and the military are not separate, but form one organic whole, consisting of the people's army.

> whose nucleus is the guerrilla army. The vanguard party can exist in the form of the guerrilla foco itself. The guerrilla force is the party in embryo.

This is, according to DE BRAY, the "staggering novelty" introduced by the Cuban revolution; one which has made a decisive contribution to international revolutionary experience and to Marxism-Leninism.

DE BRAY presented an incisive but bitter attack on the debilitating effects of internal Party organizational work on revolutionary fervor. His commentary led to the belief that the creation of the organizational framework of a Marxist Party would only obscure its revolutionary intent. For the New Left activist, DE BRAY expressed his innate perception of existing Communist Parties wherein the constant debating of the Old Left, that favorable revolutionary "objective conditions" were the precursor for action, dulled the activists' sense of emergency. The revolution could well pass them by; this was the activists' fear. Party building, if necessary, was reserved for a later day.

DE BRAY says that the effective leadership of an armed revolutionary struggle requires:

> A new style of leadership, one which accepts a full share of the risks and joins the guerrilla foco. Hence, biology and ideology are joined with only the young leader being able to cope with the rigors of guerrilla life.

> A new organization equal to its historic task where party democracy (democratic centralism) is abolished in favor of military discipline.

> 'A new ideological reflex to overcome outright political behavior patterns by dealing concretely with military necessities which in this sense are political.

In expounding on the theme of the armed struggle, DE BRAY outlines the most likely stages of development of guerrilla warfare. They are: firstly, the stage of establishment; second, the stage of development, marked by the enemy offensive, and finally the stage of revolutionary

offensive, at once political and military. He observes that the hardest stage is the first one wherein the group is exposed to all sorts of accidents from an initial period of absolute nomadism to a longer period of hardening and seasoning. Experience has taught the revolutionary that the guerrilla force is clandestine; it acts independently of the civilian population both to protect the population and to protect itself. "Constant vigilance, constant mistrust, constant mobility" are the three golden rules of survival revealed in "Revolution in the Revolution?" They were brought to ultimate practice by the Weatherman Underground; "fascist repression" evolved into paranoid secrecy utilizing similar rules.

Again, in sharp denial of Leninist agit-prop (agitation-propaganda) formulations of struggle, DE BRAY pays lip service to the necessity for armed propaganda reflecting that advertisement of the revolutionaries wares is largely internal to the guerrilla front and in any case propaganda follows the military rather than preceding it. "The main point is that under present conditions the most important form of propaganda is successful military action." So, although he posits that the guerrilla struggle must have the support of the masses "or disappear," the thrust of his formulation disavows the central format, propaganda, which would insure the mass support necessary to the continuance of the revolutionary. For the Weatherman activist it meant less and less reliance on publications through which to derive mass support and foreordained the discontinuance of "New Left Notes," the major paper of student-youth.

In presenting this unique revolutionary solution created by the necessity of its time (and arena), DE BRAY finalizes his action-not-theory argument in the following way:

> ...At the present juncture, the principal stress must be laid on the development of guerrilla warfare and not on the strengthening of existing parties or the creation of new parties...That is why insurrectional activity is today the number one political activity.

So, to the Weatherman, DE BRAY provided the ideological and organizational rationale which more nearly than any other body of thought meshed with their own experiences. Their considerable travel to Cuba wherein

Weathermen saw the results of the revolution at firsthand (and for many of them their trips to Hanoi wherein they saw the ongoing tactics of the "peoples war") influenced their commitment to join with the oppressed peoples of the world to fight the "monster" - U.S. imperialism.

When Weathermen went underground in early 1970, they organized themselves into small guerrilla bands, using DE BRAY's terminology - the "foco" in order to carry out acts of violence against the State. ALLEN YOUNG, Editor of the leftist Liberation News Service, in October, 1970, commented on the influence of the Cuban revolution on Weathermen:

> FIDEL, CHE GUEVERA and REGIS DEBRAY are really THE influence on our movements....
>
> Maybe the kids don't know a thing about it, as some critics say, but that doesn't negate the serious link (between American radicals and Cuba). It is a serious link up.
>
> The thing that was exciting about the Cuban revolution was that it first made the break with the Old Left. Castro was one of the fathers of the New Left, in things like his use of armed struggle in place of parliamentary procedures of the Old Left.

DE BRAY, the primary theoretician of guerrilla warfare, had an impact on the incipient Weatherman revolutionary; his thesis encouraged the militant sectors of student activism to carry out "actions," e.g., acts of violence. "Scanlans" magazine of January, 1971, entitled "Suppressed Issue: Guerrilla War in the USA" compiled data from the legitimate media which related to all forms of violence conducted in the country during the 1965-1970 period. What "Scanlans" characterizes as acts of Sabotage and Terrorism (each act is detailed in the issue) reveals that 1391 specific acts of violence happened during this period from a low of 16 in 1965 to the high of 546 in 1970. "Scanlans" broke the acts down which revealed 85 against the government, 248 against corporations, 192 against high schools, 62 against homes, 280 against colleges, 101 against the military and 423 against police.

The WUO acts of violence (see section on Bombings) flow from the ideological influence of DE BRAY's foco theory of guerrilla action and their own personal experiences.

The following statements best represent the ideological posture of the Weatherman immediately prior to their entering underground status. They are firsthand reports of the WUO affinity for the Cuban example of the revolutionary process and underscore their intention to promote armed struggle as the means to create revolution in the United States, at that time:

The political line of SDS continues to be represented in their ideological statement "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows." ("New Left Notes," June 18, 1969). It essentially expresses the view that action, not theory, is the proper vehicle through which revolution is realized; that revolutionary conditions presently exist in America; that youth, not the working class, will play the vanguard role in the revolution.

Of more recent date, excerpts from REGIS DE BRAY's "Revolution in the Revolution?" have appeared in the SDS paper, and at the December, 1969, National Council meeting an educational packet was distributed which also contained excerpts from this book which details the tactics utilized by FIDEL CASTRO and CHE GUEVARA in bringing about the Cuban revolution. The rhetoric and actions of the SDS leadership reflect an ever closer identification with Cuba and the Cuban revolution. They regard Cuba as the example of successful revolution applicable to the United States but with the exception that the cities not the countryside will be the place for revolutionary practice.

The current line of SDS holds the thesis of DE BRAY that practice not theory is instrumental in bringing about revolution. To be designated as an armchair revolutionary is to be scorned by Weatherman leaders. And although the leadership upholds the Cuban example and DE BRAY's theses they refuse to be sidetracked into ideological debate. At the December, 1969, "War Council" there was no discussion on Marxist-Leninism nor did any leader pay any service to MAO Tse-tung.

The December, 1969, War Council carried through that which began at the Cleveland, Ohio, National Action Conference held in September, 1969; ideological debate was out--action-oriented discussion was the theme. In this respect the leaders of SDS believe they are in the highest form of political practice when they promote the line of armed struggle. The duty of revolutionaries is to make revolution, not to talk about it.

As reflected in the statements of BILL AYERS and JEFF JONES, both National Officers of SDS, the present ideological posture of SDS is based on that presented by REGIS DE BRAY who gave to the Cuban revolution an ideological base in his book "Revolution in the Revolution." DE BRAY places the army above the party or military action above revolutionary politics and differs fundamentally from orthodox Marxism-Leninism in that it advocates skipping stages in the revolutionary process. Debrayism seeks to free the revolutionary process from the Marxist strait jacket in order to get on with the revolution. A Debrayist is unwilling to wait for objective conditions before engaging in revolutionary practice.

JONES and AYERS defended DE BRAY's theses because they "lead to a making of history where one is not a spectator but a participant." They stated that SDS "makes plans and we carry them out."

JONES and AYERS said SDS had only one disagreement with DE BRAY, that being the arena of combat. Whereas DE BRAY's revolutionary heroes fought their battles in rural Cuba, SDS sees the area of armed conflict in this country in the urban areas. The essence of the SDS strategy is to build a white, para-military organization designed to carry out guerrilla warfare in the urban areas of America--they are totally committed to revolution.

JONES and AYERS stated SDS believes a revolution in this country can be made without the working class, but "we cannot build socialism without the worker." They noted that after the revolution "our work really begins, that of building socialism."

While SDS is not actively seeking alliances from other sectors of the white population, and while they see no prospects in the immediate future of organizational ties with the Third World forces in this country, SDS believes that as

TOP SECRET

the crisis of capitalism becomes more acute and the white workers feel the impact of the crisis in terms of lower living standards, large sectors of white workers will eventually join with them. They emphasized, however, that they are unwilling to wait for history to accelerate the crisis of capitalism and are determined to accelerate that crisis with a program of action which will be urban guerrilla warfare. (S)

SDS does not believe that the goal is unity between black and white youth. SDS views the black people of the U.S. as a nation which is colonized by the white oppressor nation. The goal for blacks is revolutionary black nationalist struggle against the white oppressor nation, U.S. imperialism. White youth must be organized to fight for the right of self-determination for the black nation.. There can be no real liberation for black people until U.S. imperialism is destroyed. This will come about through the successful liberation struggles of all peoples who are colonized by U.S. imperialism. The blacks must carry out their struggle alone. To merge their struggles with the whites only blunts the black struggle because of the "white privilege" enjoyed by those of the white oppressor nation. The only peoples blacks can unite with are Third World peoples (at home Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, etc., and abroad the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.) The blacks can only fight around their own issues because they are a part of the Third World revolutionary vanguard. (S)

B1

TOP SECRET

86

D. INFLUENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT

China

Weatherman from its inception and continuing through to the present time has ideologically identified its major strategical thesis in line with the Chinese. In their initial ideological statement, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," their understanding of the primary contradiction facing the world was stated in this fashion:

> The overriding consideration in answering the question is that the main struggle going on the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it.
>
> The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world. It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world. It is in this context that we must examine the revolutionary struggles in the United States.

And in "Prairie Fire," issued in May, 1974, the WUO again identified its primary strategy on the side of Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-tung thought in the following way:

> The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to Mao and Ho Chi-minh - that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism - is the guiding strategic principle of this era.

Historical Note

What began in Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962 as a movement designed to involve the largest possible number of American students in the democratic processes had become, by 1969, an organization totally dedicated to the destruction of American society. The June, 1969, SDS Convention closed the door completely on the democratic traditions associated with the early history of the organization. In the span of seven years, SDS had evolved into a hard line Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organization dedicated to the destruction of Western democratic traditions and ideals.

But ideological unity in a Marxian revolutionary group has historically been difficult to achieve. And so it was with SDS at the 1969 convention. The convention was racked with factionalism resulting from hair-splitting differences around theoretical concepts of how each group conceived the role to be played by SDS in destroying the capitalist United States, and the methodology to be employed in carrying out this mission. All factions present at the convention adhered to the general over-all line of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in that each agreed with the Chinese world view that called the primary global contradiction that which existed between the colonial and former colonial peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism led by United States imperialism on the other hand.

In the Chinese communist view, political and military struggle bringing about the resolution of the primary world contradiction would spell the doom of western capitalism and launch the world upon the road to Marxian socialism leading eventually to pure communism.

The focal point of struggle of these two broad antagonistic forces was Vietnam where the forces for national liberation united under communist ideology were dealing heavy blows to the forces of United States imperialism and its puppet regime in Saigon, thereby setting an example to be followed by all the peoples of the Third World.

TOP SECRET

This world outlook of the CPC declared that the peoples of the world who were and are most severely subjected to the exploitation of the world-wide system of capitalism (imperialism), that is, the peoples of the colonies and the former colonies of the imperialistic states, are the most militantly dedicated to the destruction of the system of imperialism. These peoples, according to Chinese theory, constitute the "countryside of the world," while capitalist Europe and North America constitute the "city of the world."

Chinese communist strategy for world revolution is based on a global version of the strategy employed by the CPC in China which led to a communist victory there in 1949. The analogy went this way: through "peoples war" the communist forces who controlled the countryside of China encircled the cities of China, isolated the foe, and destroyed it piecemeal. The logic followed that the countryside of the world as a reaction to the super-exploitation suffered at the hands of the city of the world would become united and defeat the latter, and in the process establish a world socialist order.

This grand design would come about not through the struggles of working classes in revolutionary fervor inside the advanced capitalist countries as prescribed by Marx, but through the vehicle of national liberation struggles of the colonial and former colonial peoples of the Third World.

This view of the CPC contrasted sharply with the view of Moscow whose ideology was in line with the orthodoxy of historical materialism of Marxism's early prophets, that is, socialist societies must be preceded by capitalist societies, which would provide the material basis for a socialist economy. This orthodox theory of Marxism relied heavily on a dialectical "force of history" which would inevitably bring about the "objective conditions" necessary for a proletarian revolution to succeed. Any ideological concepts running counter to this thesis, that is, any formulations which called for skipping stages of historic development were considered in the orthodox view as adventuristic and counter-revolutionary.

MAO Tse-tung Influence on SDS Factions at the June, 1969, National Convention

The June, 1969, National Convention of SDS held in Chicago, Illinois, was rife with internal struggle. The three major factions were:

1. Weatherman: Known as the "Action Faction," it was led by SDS National Officer BERNARDINE DOHRN, with MARK RUDD, Columbia University; JEFF JONES, New York City Region; BILL AYERS and JIM MELLEN, Michigan SDS; JOHN "JJ" JACOBS and HOWARD MACHTINGER, Chicago Region.

2. RYM II: Known as the "Running Dogs No Action Faction," RYM II was led by MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, SDS; LES COLEMAN, Chicago Region; LYNN WELLS, Southern Region; and BOB AVAKIAN and MARVIN TREIGER, West Coast leaders of the newly-formed Revolutionary Union (RU).

3. Worker Student Alliance (WSA) Faction: Dominated by the Marxist-Leninist Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the PLP line was presented mainly by JEFF GORDON, New York City; JARED ISRAEL, New England; and FRED GORDON, Educational Secretary of SDS.

During this National Convention, the Weatherman and RYM II forces joined to oust the WSA/PLP Faction from SDS. And although RYM II did elect three members, including KLONSKY, to the new National Interim Committee of SDS, RYM II never became a factor in running SDS after this Convention. Hence, after June, 1969, and until SDS closed its doors in February, 1970, Weatherman and the SDS National Office are synonymous. So the 1969 National Convention was extremely important and the main ideological debate therein was reported in the following light.

TOP SECRET

The main storm of the convention controversy centered on the question of the role of black Americans in the revolutionary processes in this country.

If black Americans constituted a separate nation or a built-in colony of American capitalism, as some concluded, then black struggles would take the form of a national liberation struggle with the extreme consequence of black secession from the United States. If, on the other hand, blacks did not constitute a separate nation, then they were a part of the general working class of the United States and their drive for revolution would be in unison with the general white working class. But the controversy was not this simple. In spite of their stated strict adherence to a materialist philosophy, many Marxists often hold views which border on the metaphysical. For example, the black peoples drive for full equality constituted a struggle which was working class "in essence and nationalist in form," according to some revolutionary elements in this country. Others held the view that the black struggle was both nationalist and class in content, and still others were fond of quoting MAO Tse-tung who wrote, "In the final analysis a national struggle is a class struggle." Of course, the problem with these formulations is that they lack preciseness of meaning; consequently, they lead directly into the thicket of endless debate.

It should also be pointed out that inherent in the blacks-for-a-separate-nation-concept held by many at the SDS convention was the conclusion that a Vietnam style war within the United States between the black "colony" and the white imperialist super-structure was inevitable. Others in SDS took a more moderate view of the black liberation movement while continuing to maintain that this movement was, in fact, the revolutionary vanguard in the United States with close affiliation with national liberation movements abroad.

As was expected, this national gathering of SDS met in a highly charged atmosphere of extreme tension with rival factions hurling charges and counter-charges, each claiming for themselves the role of bearers of revolutionary truth. There was also a great deal of competition among the warring factions to portray themselves as the main purveyors of MAO Tse-tung Thought in the United States revolutionary movement.

At another session of the convention MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary of SDS, representing the RYM II faction aligned with RU, addressed the convention calling for support of black nationalism in the United States while at the same time giving support to the white working class as an important element in making the revolution in this country. He also emphasized that conditions in United States society were such at this stage that revolutionaries should concentrate on building a base rather than advocating adventuristic commitments to action before the masses of the American people are ready for revolution. KLONSKY then read a letter from ANNA LOUISE STRONG, veteran American communist then residing in the Peoples Republic of China. KLONSKY alleged that STRONG's position was that the Black Panther Party (BPP) constituted the main force for revolution among the American workers and that all possible should be done to assist the Panthers in their "nationalist struggle."

JARED ISRAEL, representing the PLP faction, said that he, too, had many letters from China and he attacked KLONSKY personally as a reactionary racist. ISRAEL noted that the political line of PLP rejected the nationalism of American blacks as a negative expression, while at the same time he gave credit to the black liberation movement as the force in the forefront of the United States revolutionary struggles. But he denied that the black people of the United States constituted a "colony" of United States imperialism, therefore, they had no right to secede. This is tantamount to stating that blacks in the United States were not an organic part of the Third World liberation forces, but an integral part of the American proletariat.

HOWARD MACHTINGER, representing the BERNARDINE DOHRN faction of the National Office SDS, criticized both KLONSKY and ISRAEL in his remarks. MACHTINGER called for a program of "action" as opposed to KLONSKY's adherence to a line of base building, and he expressed a view that black Americans, in fact, constitute a built-in United States

colony. But on the question of the right to secession for American blacks, he noted that this was a question to be decided by blacks themselves.

MARVIN TREIGER of the RU introduced CHRIS MILTON to the convention, stating that MILTON had joined the Red Guards when he resided in China a few years earlier. MILTON's presentation was laced with pro-Chinese communist sentiment, and in closing he called on all present to show solidarity with the CPC by displaying red arm bands. All except the PLP forces responded to this request. The PLP objected on the grounds that MILTON was attempting to upstage the PLP forces.

A representative from the BPP was the next speaker who claimed the BPP was in the vanguard of the revolution in the United States and the Chinese communists had accepted the BPP in such a role. The RYM II contingent led a number of chants including "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," and "MAO, MAO, MAO Tse-tung." The speaker from the BPP interjected into the convention the explosive issue of male supremacy which in turn touched off fierce debates on women's liberation, imperialism and racism.

During the course of the debate ROBERT AVAKIAN of the RU, who supported the MIKE KLONSKY RYM II faction, attacked PLP on the issue of black nationalism, calling blacks in the United States a colony and calling on the convention to support black struggles. He noted that the main task for United States revolutionaries was to make revolution in the mother country (United States) now.

The emotionalism attached to the debates set the stage for a threat of widespread physical violence among the members of the warring factions. However, with the exception of isolated incidents, physical violence was avoided with the temporary unity of two SDS National office factions coming together to defeat a PLP attempt to take over the convention. The two groups then physically separated, with Weathermen and RYM II forces moving their caucus to a separate part of the convention hall.

During the continuing debate within the SDS caucus, BERNARDINE DOHRN opposed a proposal calling for a revolutionary youth movement caucus as a substitute for SDS, explaining

"We are the SDS" and she added "We should go into the convention and fight like hell" to take it over from the PLP forces. DOHRN noted that the National Office of SDS was responsible for the development of a correct Marxist-Leninist line and called for the future exclusion of deviationist forces such as PLP and Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) from the SDS.

PLP forces, known as the WSA, were now severed from the rest of the group but the debate within the SDS national leadership between the KLONSKY and DOHRN factions was far from over. Both factions were committed to a socialist revolution through the vehicle of armed struggle against the power structure of United States capitalism. Their differences centered on strategy and tactics resulting from ideological differences. Weatherman called for a program of confrontation and action by white students in the style of Castroite guerrillas in a supportive role to black revolution without regard to the role of the white working class. The position of Weatherman was that armed struggle of blacks for self-determination would result in the victory of socialism in the United States without any reliance on white workers. Weatherman saw their role as supportive to the black liberation struggle and one which involved direct confrontation with the authority of the capitalist state.

RYM II, like Weatherman, also believed that armed struggle was the key to black liberation. But they held the view that black self-determination, the establishment of a black nation-state in several states in the South, would constitute only a first stage of the socialist revolution to be followed by a white working class alliance with black Americans and together blacks and whites would complete the second stage, the socialist revolution. RYM II saw their role as that of raising the revolutionary consciousness of the broad masses of white workers to oppose capitalism and support black liberation.

SECTION II

FOREIGN TRAVEL AND CONTACTS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS WHICH INFLUENCED THE WUO

This section covers foreign travel and contacts from the period 1967 to 1969 of leading SDS activists with emphasis on those who eventually became Weathermen. This historical continuum is necessary even though some of the travel predates the actual formation of Weatherman simply because their politicalization from single issue anti-war activity to that of revolutionary armed struggle can only be appreciated in light of their building intensity to direct action induced by the representatives of foreign governments. The WUO presently identifies its historical antecedents in the following fashion:

> The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist men and women. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular, Students for a Democratic Society....

So, from CATHY WILKERSON and JEFF JONES's trip to Cambodia in November, 1967, through MARK RUDD's Cuban trip in February, 1968, which preceded the Columbia University riots; through the July, 1969, meeting between Weathermen BERNARDINE DOHRN, etal, where Vietnamese demands to intensify the anti-war effort led to the infamous "National Action" in Chicago, the foreign travel shown herein reveals the growing fervor of the Weathermen to carry out their ideology in practice. "Two, Three, Many Vietnams" in the words of Che Guevara was not mere rhetoric but the modus operandi of the Weathermen. The following major trips are to be considered then as a series of events which had a cumulative effect on the growing presence of Weathermen as revolutionary Marxist-Leninists who had made a commitment to armed struggle in behalf of the international communist movement:

TOP SECRET

A. Influence of Vietnamese and Cubans — Page 66

1. Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, September, 1967
   The first major anti-war activist meeting with the Vietnamese. Nine leading SDS figures went on this trip after which seven individuals traveled to Hanoi.

2. Phnom Phen, Cambodia, November, 1967 — Page 72
   Four leading SDS figures, three of whom became Weatherman met with the Vietnamese.

3. Havana, Cuba, January/February, 1968 — Page 85
   The first major travel of SDS people to Havana where meetings took place with the Vietnamese. The principal figure was MARK RUDD who upon his return led the Columbia University riots in the Spring of 1968. Coming together of the "action faction," the genesis of Weatherman.

4. Havana, Cuba, July/August, 1968 — Page 85
   SDS delegation to Cuba to honor the July 26th celebration; three SDS leaders who became Weathernen led the delegation. In August the second major SDS trip.

5. Budapest, Hungary, September, 1968 — Page 92
   This trip contained major anti-war activists, the most important of whom was BERNARDINE DOHRN, the Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS. X DOHRN also traveled to Yugoslavia, Sweden and contacted the German SDS. X X

6. Havana, Cuba, July, 1969 — Page 96
   The single most important meeting of SDS (Weatherman) leaders with the DRV and PRG. X HUYNH Van Ba, PRG representative, instructed the Weathermen on whom to recruit upon their return to the U.S.; Van Ba continued his contacts with the Weathermen after their return. X X Weathermen set up the "National Action" in Chicago under the slogan "Bring The War Home" under direct urgings of the Vietnamese.

TOP SECRET

96

B1

8. Contacts with the CMUN, 1968-1969 — Page 138

Material sets forth contacts of leading Weathermen with CMUN officials and Cuban intelligence officers attached to the CMUN and Cuban Embassy in Canada.

B. Influence of China — Page 143

Material restates continuing influence of MAO Tse-tung on Weathermen from the SDS National Convention held in June, 1969, to present. Set forth is letter from Weathermen to ANNA LOUISE STRONG sent after June, 1969, National Convention.

C. Other International Contacts — Page 146

Material shows thrust of SDS leaders to establish international contacts with New Left activists from other countries. Included is contact by BERNARDINE DOHRN with the German SDS and subsequent travel of German student activists to the U.S. which was sponsored by SDS. Also travel of Weatherman MIKE JUSTESEN to Japan in August, September, 1969, where contacts made with the "Red Army" student activists.

97

TOP SECRET

A. Influence of Vietnamese and Cubans

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia
September 6-13, 1967

The contents of a press release from the Prague CTK International Service datelined at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, stated:

> A total of 23 representatives from various mass organizations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and South Vietnam met here September 6-12, 1967, with a large group of United States citizens who are active in antiwar and radical movements. The meeting was arranged by representatives of the three groups in order to exchange views and standpoints on the war in Vietnam and to intensify mutual understanding.
>
> The representatives of the people of South Vietnam and the DRV reported on the political, military and economic situation in the respective parts of the country. The standpoint of the DRV as well as the political program of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of September 1, 1967, which were discussed in detail, are evidence of the Vietnamese people's confidence in the final victory of their struggle against United States aggression for independence and peace.
>
> Members of the U.S. group reported on the attitude of the various groups in the U.S. to the war, and discussed development of the antiwar movement---presenting an analysis of the whole spectrum of political views in the United States.
>
> Nguyen Minh Vy, Director of the fortnightly 'THONG NHAT' headed the DRV group. The group included twelve representatives of special-interest and mass organizations. The South Vietnamese delegation was headed by Mrs. Nguyen Thi Vinh, member of the National Liberation Front, South Vietnam, Central Committee, and Deputy Chairman of the Women's Federation for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

TOP SECRET

98

TOP SECRET

The American Embassy, Prague, Czechoslovakia, by telegram marked "limited official use," advised it had learned the following individuals from the United States were participants in the meeting at Bratislava:

ROBERT ALLEN, National Guardian
MALCOLM BOYD, Clergyman, writer, Washington, D.C.
CAROL BRIGHTMAN, Vietnam Report
JACK BROWN, Clergyman, San Francisco
BRONSON CLARK, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
ROBERT COOK, Yale University Faculty
STANLEY COOKS, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
RENNIE DAVIS, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Chicago
DAVID DELLINGER, Delegation leader, Editor "Liberation"
BETTY DELLINGER, DAVID DELLINGER's wife
THORNE DREYER, Organizer, SDS
NICK EGELSON, SDS President, 1966-1967
DICK FLACKS, SDS, Chicago
ROSS FLANAGAN, Quaker Medical Aid Program
NORM FRUCHTER, movie writer
TOM GARDNER, Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)
CAROL GLASSMAN, SDS Community Organizer, Newark
TOM HAYDEN, SDS President, 1962-1963
STEVE HALLIWELL, SDS National Office
CHRISTOPHER JENCKS, New Republic
RUSS JOHNSON, Southeast Asia Representative, SFSC
CAROL KING, Community Organizer, Cleveland
ANDREW KOPKIND, New Republic
BOB KRAMER, writer, New York City
CAROL MC ELDOWNEY, Community Organizer, Cleveland
LEON MOORE, AAA
LINDA MOORE, National Student Mobilization Committee, New York City
RAY MUNGO, Student, Harvard or Howard
DOUG NORBERG, Field Staff, SDS
VIVIAN ROTHSTEIN, SDS Organizer, Chicago
STEVEN SCHWARZCHILD (Rabbi)
SOL STERN, Editor, "Ramparts"
DENNIS SWEENEY, Anti-Draft Organizer, Palo Alto, California
JOHN TILLMAN, SNCC
BARBARA WEBSTER, Liberation
ERIC WEINBERGER, National Secretary, Committee for Non-Violent Action

TOP SECRET

99

HANK WERNER, Coordinator, Vietnam Summer
JOHN WILSON, SNCC National Office
WILLIE WRIGHT, President, African American Association (AAA)
RON YOUNG, Youth Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation

The above were still in Prague on September 16, 1967. The below listed individuals were planning to travel on to Hanoi:

NORM FRUCHTER	TOM HAYDEN
VIVIAN ROTHSTEIN	CAROL MC ELDOWNEY
RENNIE DAVIS	JACK BROWN
ROBERT ALLEN	

A radio broadcast from North Vietnam on October 6, 1967, intercepted by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, stated in part as follows:

> 7 Americans Visiting DRV (Democratic Republic of Vietnam), Urge End to War. Text-Hanoi; Bernard Joseph Cabanes dispatch.
>
> 7 youth Americans on a ten-day 'see for ourselves' visit to North Vietnam today called for an end to the escalation of the war and moves for peace.
>
> The group, two of them girls, came to North Vietnam to 'learn for ourselves' about the war the United States is waging against Vietnam and to testify to the losses American bombing is inflicting on the civilian population. The seven are from no specific organizations, and are most intellectuals from various widely differing professions....

"SDS" by KIRKPATRICK SALE, Chapter 19 titled "Fall 1967," page 392, sets forth a footnote as follows:

> There were other contacts between SDSers and Third-World revolutionaries at this time - Carl Oglesby spent part of the summer at Bertrand Russells' war crimes tribunal, Cathy Wilkerson and Carol McEldowney spent some time with NLG people in Cambodia in November, a meeting of North Americans and NLF students was held in Montreal, and Davidson, Tom Hayden, Todd Gitlin and others traveled to Cuba at the end of the year. But the Bratislava meeting - which attracted such SDSers as Rennie Davis, Thorne Dreyer, Nick Egelson, Dick Flacks, Norm Fruchter, Carol Glassman, Hayden, Halliwell, Andy Kopkind, Robert Kramer, Carol McEldowney, Doug Norberg, and Wilkerson - was the most formative; Christopher Jencks noted in the 'New Republic' (October 7, 1967) that 'the most striking fact about the young radicals was the extent to which they identified with the Viet Cong.'

"New Left Notes," Volume 2, Number 34, October 2, 1967, page one, sets forth an article titled "New Leftists Meet with the NFL-A Society in Revolution" by STEVE HALLIWELL, Columbia SDS. He wrote, in part, as follows:

> The first large meeting between Americans of the anti-war movement and delegations from the DRV and the NLF took place in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia the week of September 6-13. For the 41 Americans present, there is now the responsibility of communicating to their varied constituencies-peace groups, organizations of the poor

students, magazine audiences-the information covered by the Vietnamese including the military situation in the South, the nature of the bombings in the North, the role of women, life in the liberated zones (the NLF speaks of 'liberated' zones and 'occupied' zones), the value of the press and propaganda, and the role of Buddhism (the so-called 'third force' in the South).

But now that the conference is over, I'm afraid that all the information and the perspective forged by American radicals in a week of constant discussions large, small and intimate will roll like so much water off the well-oiled back of the American anti-war movement unless we communicate to some degree the feeling that emerged in that conference and the context that shapes the work of those who were present. After all, most of us have been active in the anti-war movement for two and a half years now and know that the war is a tremendously brutal affair.... Further explanation of how real those facts are, greater documentation, etc., must seem of little consequence.

But for those present, the manner of the people from both the North and South who presented that information is of crucial importance, for their manner is that of men and women struggling in a society in revolution... It was only as the conference progressed (in the true sense of the word) only as we developed a sense of how revolutionaries live and talk and work, that these incredible facts became first credible and then understandable.

...The NLF is the instrument of a society which has had to organize itself against more than one foreign aggressor and in which the base of that struggle has been widespread for a long time. As a political mechanism, the Front has created both local administrative structures and a Central Committee of leaders of mass organizations and different social areas (such as military, education and health). As a military force, it is a

TOP SECRET

system of interlocking forces-there is a guerrilla unit for each hamlet (the 'fighting village'), a district force (10 villages together), a provincial force and a zonal army....

In order to grasp the level of organization that a sustained resistance like the Front represents, it is important to understand how comprehensive the Front has become. The new political program of the Front released September 1, 1967, presents a picture of a society in which every social element outside the direct interests of the Saigon government has become mobilized against the American occupation — small shop keepers and even the smaller landlords who have assisted the Front, are treated in the new program....

It is that total endeavour by a society in revolution that came across in the course of our conversations. Against a society demanding freedom and independence from an imperialist force, there is no weapon save destruction of every individual in revolt that will bring about any end other than victory for the liberation forces.

It is a form of life that American radicals find hard to understand at first because they have been conditioned by the nonsense in our newspapers....

But there is another reason why talking to people in a revolutionary society is at first incredulous. We don't believe they are possible because we don't believe in ourselves.... But we have yet to develop in ourselves the confidence that is so evident in the Vietnamese. We realize that our society is not a stable one-there are fissures deep into the system that only deepen as the war continues and national politics grown more hypocritical and banal. And yet we have not learned how to move with confidence in that society. We believe that every room is bugged, every phone tapped, not as a principle of security, but because we believe in the power of the police, the stability and the efficiency of the powers of the state.

TOP SECRET

133

TOP SECRET

Furthermore, in place of that confidence we have established an over burdened belief in our own sanctity. We assume that unless other elements in the society speak our language and share our responses, they are worthless. The NFL has managed to put together an all-nation coalition on the basis of a deep sense of the movement of a whole society, not by isolating themselves in language, thought or purity of principal....

Phnom Phen, Cambodia,
November, 1967

The "New York Post," November 17, 1967, page two, sets forth a photograph of four individuals captioned "Bound for North Vietnam." The sub-caption reflected four members of SDS, STEVE HALLIWELL and JEFFREY JONES of New York City, KAREN KOONAN of San Francisco, and CATHY WILKERSON of Washington were boarding a plane for Paris at Kennedy Airport; that their eventual destination was North Vietnam by invitation.

"New Left Notes," December 18, 1967, page one, sets forth an article titled "Delegation to Hanoi Returns," by CATHY WILKERSON. In part, it reflects:

On Nov. ___ four people set off for Paris with the final destination of Hanoi.... This was the first 'student delegation' to go. Karin Koonan of the Movement, a member of the Steering Committee for the Oakland Stop the Draft Week; Steve Halliwell, N.Y. SDS; Jeff Jones, N.Y. SDS; and myself were invited by the Federation of Youth of the D.R.V. This group is the umbrella organization for a number of student and youth groups....

The youth of the D.R.V. had invited a student delegation from the United States to discuss the experiences of the youth in both countries, especially their experiences as important vanguard forces in building a revolutionary movement. In addition, we expected the youth of the D.R.V. to help us understand more about their lives as youths and students of a country being attacked by American imperialism, in a nation mobilized for armed struggle.

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

Unlike most of the previous trips which had been arranged by groups in Hanoi, and which had remained in Hanoi....we were to spend most of our time traveling to a number of different provinces. This was essential for a student delegation since the intensive bombings have forced a total decentralization of the educational system....

We arrived in Cambodia on Wednesday. The only flights to Hanoi are those of the International Control Commission, arranged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.... However, due to heavy American bombing, it is not unusual for flights to be turned back unexpectedly....

[illegible] morning, we were informed that we would not be able to take the ICC flight the next morning. The Committee of Working Youth had sent a telegram to Phnom Phen explaining that the bombing had become so heavy that any travel outside Hanoi would be extremely dangerous, especially for those untrained in self-defense.... We were told that almost all foreign visits had been cancelled, probably until February....

Despite our inability to finally get to North Vietnam, we all felt that the trip was well worth while. During our ten-day stay in Cambodia, we had many long conversations with a number of Vietnamese officials and Cambodians....

An article which appeared in the "Hartford Courant" on October 11, 1967 was headed "Activist Scoffs At Talk of Communist Conspiracy." It reflected that NICK EGLESON, past president of the national Students for a Democratic Society, spoke before a small gathering of the Trinity chapter of SDS on the previous day. It stated that he had spent two weeks last spring as a guest of the North Vietnam Government and termed "international communism conspiracy as a myth." He stated that this trip convinced him that "Our political movement in this country must change to recognize insurgency as a legitimate path to democracy." He noted that insurgency is not necessarily an armed struggle.

105

TOP SECRET

EGELSON stated that the harder this country makes it for people to free themselves, the more "military" will be the revolution. He predicted that if the United States submits to increased international and national opinion and calls a halt to its bombing raids, HO Chi Minh will not necessarily relax the war in the south. EGELSON stated that the aims of the Viet Cong were democracy, neutrality, and land reform. He predicted that if the United States leaves Vietnam, the National Liberation Front will probably take over the country and bring about a drift toward socialism.

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

February, 1968
Havana, Cuba

To further cement the relationships established with the representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam (DRV), during the fall of 1967, the national leadership of SDS through their then Inter-Organizational Secretary, CARL DAVIDSON, organized the first major travel to Cuba where discussions were held with the NLF.

"New Left Notes" in the following articles reported on the initiation of the February trip in the following manner:

"New Left Notes," October 9, 1967, page three, sets forth an article titled "Cubans Invite SDS to Anniversary Celebration" by CARL DAVIDSON, Inter-Organizational Secretary. In part it reflects:

> "The Cuban government has extended an invitation to SDS to send 10 to 20 people to Cuba from December 21 to January 10, the anniversary of the revolution. The trip is scheduled to include...meetings with various government officials and attendance at anniversary celebrations. A resolution of the National Council mandated the National Interim Committee to select people to attend...
>
> "Viva Che! Viva la Revolucion! Venceremos!"

"New Left Notes," November 20, 1967, page five, sets forth an article titled "Selections Made for Cuba Trip" by JEFF SHERO, National Interim Committee-New York. In part it reflects:

> "...The current plans are to send Carl Davidson to Cuba to the Third World Intellectual's Conference in early January as an SDS observer and to finalize arrangements for the two week tour. The NIC will also select one other person, along with Davidson, to attend the conference, although Carl will be the only official observer.

TOP SECRET

107

TOP SECRET

"The tour itself will take place in the early part of February. The SDSmmembers will journey to Cuba via Mexico City if State Department travel permits can be obtained, or through Prague if they can't..."

"New Left Notes" subsequently reported that TODD GITLIN (SDS President 1963-1964) accompanied DAVIDSON to the International Cultural Congress held in January, 1968, in Havana. Also at the meeting were TOM HAYDEN, former President of SDS in 1962-1963, and DAVE DELLINGER, but neither of these individuals represented SDS in any official capacity.

The following twenty individuals traveled to Cuba in February, 1968, as guests of the Cuban government:*

KAREN LYNN ASHLEY
DENA MARIE CLANAGE
ALICE EMBREE
MICHAEL HERMAN GOLDFIELD
THOMAS MARK HARDESTY
POLLY MAUREEN HART
JOSEPH RICHARD HORTON
EDWARD JOHN JENNINGS
ALAN THOMAS LEVIN
JOSEPH SHARON MICHAEL
MARY JANE NELSON
DICK JOHNSON REAVIS
JOAN MARIE ROCKWELL
MARK RUDD
PHILIP LOW RUSSELL
SHEILA PATRICIA RYAN
PAUL HUGH SHINOFF
MARC BEN STEINER
ROBERT SAMUEL TUMPOSKY
JEAN BARBARA WEISSMAN

The "Florida Alligator," daily campus newspaper, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in its issue dated February 20, 1968, carried on page one a copyright

(*"New Left Notes" dated January 15, 1969, contained an article by CONNIE ULLMAN and GERRY LONG, "Cuban Youth Pour Into Fields," which states that ULLMAN and LONG had "returned from Cuba last February.")

article by STEVE HULL, Editor, and HARVEY ALPER, Managing Editor. This article states that the "Alligator" learned on February 19, 1968, that ALAN LEVIN and 19 other members of the SDS from throughout the United States are in Cuba as guests of the Cuban Government. According to the article, the group is in Cuba "to talk to representatives of North Korea and the National Liberation Front of North Vietnam" and "to spend some time in Cuba working in Cuban fields."

The article states that JOE HORTON, a member of the visiting group and a Chicago SDS member, was quoted as saying in an interview over communist radio "I will not go to Vietnam to defend the interests of the Rusks, the Rockefellers, and the Imperialists of my country. I would rather go to prison or die."

According to the article, the group left from O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, on February 6, 1968, for Mexico City and a connecting flight to Havana on Cuba's Cubana Airline. The article states the group is reported to be in Cuba for about 2½ weeks and will return to the United States by freighter with a connection in Canada. The article listed the following as members of the group:

KAREN ASHLEY
National Office SDS
Chicago

BOB TUMPOSKY and JAMES ROCKWELL
Syracuse, New York

PAUL SHINOFF
Los Angeles Regional Office SDS

ALICE EMBREE and PHIL RUSSELL
North American Congress on Latin America, New York

JEAN WEISSMAN, Westside Draft Project, New York City

ED JENNINGS, Chicago

HOLLY HART, 49th Ward Committee for Independent Political Action, Chicago

MARC STEINER and SHEILA RYAN
Washington, D.C.
SDS Chapter

ALAN LEVIN, Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)
Gainesville

MARY ELSON and MIKE GOLDFIELD
University of Chicago

MARK RUDD, Columbia University
New York

DENA CLAMAGE, Detroit

MIKE SHARON, Join Community Union, Chicago

JOE HORTON, Chicago Region of SDS

MARK HARDESTY, Home and affiliation unknown

The New York Region of SDS has been holding a Series of Commentaries about SDS on radio station WBAI FM, 99.5 on the dial, each Wednesday, beginning March 6, 1968, after the evening news at about 7:00 PM.

JEFF JONES was the master of ceremonies for the third broadcast of the series on the evening of March 20, 1968. JONES began by stating that a brother of theirs on the Lower East Side has a publication called "Guerrilla" - the theme of the most recent issue being that "youth will make the revolution and youth will keep it." He stated they wanted to talk a bit about that as they talk about the trip of 20 of their brothers and sisters who have just returned from Cuba.

JONES asked KAREN ASHLEY of SDS to discuss the feelings she had during her three weeks in Cuba. ASHLEY spoke of her general over-all impressions of Cuba as she walked through the streets there talking to officials and the people. The thing that struck her the most was the way the people have a pride in being a part of the revolution. Everyone there feels that they are contributing to a growing revolution and a growing country.

She stated it was a revolution made by youth and carried on by youth. The average age of the Central Committee is 35. Whole sections of the country are controlled by people under 30. There is a feeling of youthfulness and ties with the rest of the world as well as with struggles in all parts of the world. The liberation struggles are everywhere aiding in revolutionary struggles in whatever way they possibly can.

For her last point, she stated there is a general flexibility in the government, seemingly undogmatic. They do not go by strict Marxist lines and they change their minds if they find they are wrong. It is most flexible to criticism and change.

MARK RUDD of the Columbia University (CU) SDS Chapter, was asked by JONES to mention how some people happened to take the trip, because a lot of times people tire of the New Left for the fact that they often go off to talk with the National Liberation Front in Southeast Asia or the Cubans in Cuba.

RUDD stated the reason the Cubans invited them was probably because they wanted to make contact with SDS. In general, someone has said they (Cubans) view SDS as the group with the most potential and the least well organized. The Cubans wanted them to go down to Cuba to gain some of the

TOP SECRET

consciousness and spirit of the country in order to tell the Americans what is happening there.

RUDD stated that one of the big reasons why the Cuban people feel they are part of the revolution was because of their experiences with the American embargo, American opposition to the revolution, and specifically, the mercenary invasion in 1961 of the Bay of Pigs..

The SDS group visited the Bay of Pigs and was moved when they saw a monument dedicated to the militiamen killed there. He stated there is a famous picture of FIDEL CASTRO taken before the Bay of Pigs, in which he was addressing a crowd of 1,000 people with their guns raised in the air. These are the people of Cuba and in a real sense the basic democracy in Cuba.

JONES introduced ALICE EMBREE of the North American Congress on Latin America. EMBREE stated that they had stayed at the Havana Riviera Hotel. She spoke of the cleanliness of the streets and country though the buildings are run down; and their visits to the sugar cane fields.

JONES stated that he did not go to Cuba, but was able to go to Southeast Asia and talk with the NLF and North Vietnamese people last November. He recently went on a speaking tour around New England talking about it. His tour took place just after General HERSHEY's statement that graduate students and college seniors would no longer be exempt from the draft. The point he was trying to make to the students protected by the 2-S classification was that conditions would probably lead them to join their movement to try to change the society.

JONES stated that everything that was stated that evening was very good about Cuba, but he understood there is a draft there.

KAREN ASHLEY stated they were really upset when they heard that universal military training will be instituted in the Cuban schools for all boys and girls. She stated it is against everything SDS was doing in the United States and they talked to a lot of people in Cuba about it.

TOP SECRET

A guide told them that everyone wants to be trained. Those who do not are the counterrevolutionaries and most of them are leaving Cuba. They look upon military training as desirable in that it will happen while they are in school and theywill not have to interrupt their life later on. It is part of their daily life that they must known how to defend themselves. They are in a sense a paranoid nation, but with good reason, with the United States only 90 miles away.

She stated there was not anyone they met who found military training a bad thing. They were all involved in building up the country and saw this as another way to do it.

JONES then inquired about the use of drugs in Cuba. RUDD stated the drug situation was simple to define since drugs are illegal there. Most feople feel they do not want or need them, and that included the artists and students with whom they spent their last week. He stated the artists are free to publish their poems and have their paintings exhibited.

ALICE EMBREE spoke of their visit to the Isle of Pines, also called the Isle of Youth, where the political prisons are located. She stated the prisons are now being coverted into technological institutions, and they are trying to figure out a way to construct the buildings to look less like prisons. EMBREE related the group found the Isle to be an exciting place with 50,000 kids there. Young peqle come there to do voluntary work for 45 days to two years, reshaping the island. They are trying to create communism there which they say is creating a socialist-revolutionary consciousness. They found it exciting to see young people controlling the island.

JONES concluded the program by thanking "Fidel Castro for his part in tonight's program." He also stated that the individuals on the program were working with SDS and are available for discussion groups.

Columbia University Student Strike
April, 1968, New York City, New York

The largest student strike in the history of the United States took place at Columbia University, New York, in April, 1968. CARL DAVIDSON saw it as a major turning point in SDS history:

> Since the Columbia Rebellion, SDS has been thrust onto a new plateau as a national political force. The importance of that event in our history should not be underestimated. More than any other event in our recent political past, Columbia has successfully summed up and expressed the best aspects of the main thrust of our national political efforts in the last two years.

The SDS strike at Columbia was important because it occurred at a prestigious university in the media capital of the country and resulted in a complete victory for SDS over the university administration.

The most profound and lasting effect of the Columbia strike was in the development and use of the new SDS tactic of disruptive confrontation.

According to JERRY L. AVRON in his book "Up Against The Ivy Wall" (Atheneum, New York, 1969), "a relatively sedate tactical approach had marked the early days of the Columbia chapter of SDS. It centered on dramatization and politicization; change could be brought about by drawing attention of members of the community to a given problem, awakening them to the need for change. This emphasis on politicization became known as the 'praxis' theory, advocated by those radicals who felt that the best means of converting others to the radical view of the world was through education, propaganda and discussion. Disruptive actions on the part of radicals would, they feared, in many cases only alienate those who might otherwise be persuaded to help work toward the radical reconstruction of society."

The Columbia SDS chapter was growing disillusioned with "praxis" tactics in the Spring of 1968 when MARK RUDD returned from Cuba and was elected chairman of the chapter. There was an immediate change in SDS tactics.

TOP SECRET

On March 20, the New York City director of the Selective Service System appeared on campus to discuss strict new draft regulations with students. During a question and answer session, an unidentified assailant pushed a lemon merinque pie in the director's face.

A week later RUDD led more than 100 students into Low Library in a noisy, intentionally disruptive confrontation with the administration in defiance of Columbia's ban on indoor demonstrations. The target of the demonstration was the Institute of Defense Analysis (IDA).

AVRON reported "By the time of the IDA demonstration a new sub-group had come to dominate SDS. It became known as the 'action faction,' and advocated a new tactical approach--confrontation politics--to replace the dramatization--politicization style of the 'praxis axis.' The superficial dynamic of the tactic was simple: a physical confrontation--a sit in, a blockade, the take over of a building--is set up to discomfit the adversary who holds the power, in this case the University administration. He can respond by giving in to the substantive demands of the radicals or by crushing them with coercion of his own....

"The use of coercive force on the part of the adversary--whether it came in the form of University discipline or police violence--could be a powerful force to 'radicalize' liberal or moderate students. For the crucial part of the SDS view is that while escalated tactics are necessary to bring pressure for change on substantive issues, the 'radicalization' of large segments of the population is far more important. As Rudd said later:

"Confrontation politics puts the enemy up against the wall and forces him to define himself. In addition, it puts the individual up against the wall. He has to make a choice. Radicalization of the individual means that he must commit himself to the struggle to change society as well as share the radical view of what is wrong with society."

On April 23, 1968, the student uprising began in earnest and during the next 30 days a number of the University's buildings were occupied and held by students, the Acting Dean of Columbia College was held hostage and the files of the University's President were looted.

On April 30, 1968, the President of the University made an official complaint to the New York City Police

TOP SECRET

Department and police officers arrested approximately 700 students and other persons who were trespassing in various buildings of the University. At least 17 police were injured while making these arrests.

KIRKPATRICK SALE wrote "When one professor on the third day of the takeovers asked Rudd whether he really wanted to destroy the university--'Doesn't the university have any redeeming features that merit your saving it?'--the SDS chairman was at a loss for an answer; he hadn't really thought about what he really wanted out of the university....But during the next day and weeks....it became clear to many SDSers in a very direct way that it was not the reform of the university that they really wanted, not the limiting of complicity (between government and university) not the restructuring of the evil complex, but something much vaster, more significant, more, well, revolutionary....By commencement time neither Rudd nor most of the other SDSers had much doubt about how to answer the question of the university's 'redeeming features.' The seeds of Weatherman are planted here."

Among the students identified by JERRY L. AVRON as participants in the Columbia student strike, the following later became active in the Weatherman organization:

NICK FREUDENBERG, Vice Chairman of SDS
DAVE GILBERT, member of Strike Coordinating Committee
TED GOLD, former Vice Chairman of SDS
MORRIS GROSSNER, member of SDS Steering Committee
JOHN JACOBS, member of SDS
ROBBY ROTH, member of SDS and negotiator for Low Library strikers
MARK RUDD, Chairman of SDS

The following individuals were arrested by the New York City Police Department at Columbia during the strike and later became active in Weatherman:

NANCY CANTELMO
ANDREA BOROFF ZAGAN
STEWART MARK GEDAL
MARTIN HERMAN KENNER
SHINYA ONO
JONAH RASKIN
STEPHEN JOSEPH TAPPIS

115

TOP SECRET

MARK RUDD was interviewed by FRANCISCO PORTELA of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency in New York City, on June 21, 1968, on the motivations behind the spread of the student struggle in North American universities and the participation of the SDS in that struggle. Among other comments RUDD stated "The struggle of the people of the Third World is very closely linked to the point of view of the Cuban people about that struggle. In fact, we consider that the Cuban criterion on the struggle in America is perhaps the correct way in which the revolution will take place....As is known, we have taken from Che his slogan: Create two, three, many Vietnams. Thus, we have as our slogan: Create Two, three, many Columbias...."

TOP SECRET

116

~~TOP SECRET~~

July, 1968
Havana, Cuba

"New Left Notes," issue of September 9, 1968, under the caption "NIC Discusses Chicago, Elections, Elitism," in part reveals:

> Four of the five people who attended the July 26th celebrations in Cuba have returned and will be available at the NC....

b1

The August 28-31, 1968, issue of the "New Patriot" contained an article captioned "Whither Cuba?" written by CHIP MARSHALL. ("New Patriot" is identified on its masthead as "an independent newsweekly of the movement," published by the Glad Day Press, 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York.)

An Editor's note indicated that MARSHALL had returned this week from a one month visit to Cuba. MARSHALL is a national officer of the SDS and co-chairman of the Cornell Chapter. He went to Cuba with five other national SDS leaders to attend the July 26th celebrations as honored guests of the Cuban people.

In the article MARSHALL gives an account of his Cuba trip. He went via Mexico City. In Cuba the group visited such places as farms, garages, the University of Havana, rope factory, the National Art Institute and the Bay of Pigs, and talked to laborers, mechanics, farmers, soldiers and seamen. They attended FIDEL CASTRO's speech given at Santa Clara in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the start of the Cuban Revolution. They also visited the North Korean Embassy where they were "treated to several hours of film."

~~TOP SECRET~~

117

TOP SECRET

MARSHALL generally praised Cuba and the Cuban people and their leaders in this account of his visit. In a concluding paragraph MARSHALL stated the following:

> But the most shocking evidence of our war against the Cubans came when I visited the Bay of Pigs. 'Imperialism' is a phrase we have read and thrown around a lot, but looking at the bombed out houses and the photos of the families that had died in them brought home the full implications of the phrase. I was disgusted.

TOP SECRET

August, 1968
Havana, Cuba

A letter from the SDS National Office was sent over the signature of BERNARDINE DOHRN, SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary. This letter read in part as follows:

> 3) The date has not been fixed with the Cuba Mission, but the trip will be around the last ten days of August and the first two weeks of Sept.
>
> Venceremos!
>
> Your cruise director, in struggle,
>
> BERNARDINE DOHRN
> Inter-organizational Secretary
> SDS

B1

A letter dated August 5, 1968, addressed to "Cuba Trippers-Brothers and Sisters" and sent over the name of BERNARDINE DOHRN, Inter-Organizational Secretary, read in part as follows:

> We have arranged with the Cubans for the group to leave Mexico City for Cuba on August 25. Recent events in Mexico may complicate that, but we'll assume travel access until otherwise certain. The trip will be from 3-4 weeks in length; freighters leave Cuba frequently, but irregularly, and all 50 cannot be accommodated in one trip. So anyone who must be back before four weeks should not go....
>
> The briefing session will begin in Texas on August 21. More on location there and coordination of rides going to Texas in the next mailing...
>
> Cheers.

B1

B1

TOP SECRET

119

American Airlines, [illegible], on August 28, 1968, advised that DOUGLAS BERNHARDT had contacted American Airlines August 23, 1968, and made reservations for 32 coach seats on American Airlines flight [illegible] from Dallas to Mexico City on August 26, 1968. furnished names as follows:

DANIEL FRIEDLANDER	CLIF TAYLOR
DOUGLAS BERNHARDT	BILL YATES
RUSSELL SMITH	JIM MURRAY
MARK UHLSCHID	STEVE MOORE
HOLLY MOORE	THOMAS GOOD
FRED HALPER	LOUISE HALPER
LARRY KRAMER	SUE ORRIN
ROSS DANIELSON	MARK SHAPIRO
PAUL HENRIQUES	JIM KULK
MORRIS OLDER	NICK FREUDENBERG
NANCY BIBERMAN	JIM MITCHELL
GEORGE GREUNTHAL	HILDA IGNATIN
JOSEPH WEBB	MARILYN WEBB
THOMAS MOSHER	JEFFREY SWANSON
BERNARD IGLESIAS	HELEN SHILLER
MICHELLE CLARK	MARY MALCOLM

"Radio Progresso," Havana, Cuba, broadcast the following announcement on August 27, 1968: "Fortytwo members of the SDS traveled from Mexico to Cuba on a regular Cubana Airlines flight. The members of the group were from most of the states in the United States and among them were included professors, students, and post-graduate students as well as newspapermen." The broadcast stated they would remain in Cuba for three weeks in order to observe the advances of the Cuban revolution. Later it was indicated they will inform the American public in the United States regarding their findings.

Subsequent to the SDS travel group's arrival in Cuba, they visited numerous places of interest such as an electric plant, a sugar mill plantation, the Bay of Pigs and the Isle of Youth and Pines, where the SDS travel group spent several days doing volunteer labor of cutting sugar cane.

During their trips to Cuba and Havana everyone in the travel group was permitted free access to the people and could go anywhere they pleased, talking with the local citizenry.

B1

MIKE KLONSKY was interviewed on Radio Havana, Cuba broadcast on August 29, 1968.

He described the riots at the Democratic Convention in Chicago and indicated SDS would continue the battle in Chicago until the end of the Democratic Convention. He repudiated the platform approved by the Democratic Convention. Radio Havana broadcast read to KLONSKY part of a message of the American student delegation which had arrived recently in Cuba urging the continuation of the battle and creation of "many Chicagos" throughout the United States. KLONSKY replied "It is a beautiful message, very beautiful. This message encourages us; we will continue to fight in the states."

Radio Havana is a shortwave broadcast station in Havana, Cuba, operating 24 hours a day under the complete control and direction of the FIDEL CASTRO communist government of Cuba. It transmits violent anti-U.S.propaganda throughout the world in many languages.

"New Left Notes" issue of September 9, 1968, page three, contained an article captioned "NIC Discusses Chicago, Elections, Elitism:"

The discussion on international began with a report from KEN CLOKE on his trip to Japan and another by SIGRID FRONIUS from West Berlin SDS who spoke about her organization. The rest of the time was spent on a discussion of Cuba trips as they relate to the development of an international consciousness within SDS.

> Four of the five people who attended the July 26th celebrations in Cuba have returned and will be available at the NC. The large trip (thirty-three people) left for Cuba Monday, August 26th, after a three-day training conference.

TOP SECRET

The NIC felt that the Cuba trips should continue, but that they are valuable to us at this point only when the people who go are as prepared as possible, making them able to learn information that will be of value to our development. Small groups (no more than ten to a group) with comprehensive training in Spanish and study of the Cuban Revolution will be more effective than large groups.

TOP SECRET

122

TOP SECRET

Budapest, Hungary,
September, 1968

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C., newspaper, issue of September 21, 1968, contains an item captioned "U.S. War Foes Meet with Hanoi Group," which states that a group of 28 American war foes traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF) to discuss strategy on United States campuses.

According to the above article, the meeting reportedly was held in Budapest, Hungary, September 5-9, 1968, by DAVID DELLINGER, Head of the National Mobilization Committee and coalition of anti-war advocates. The article stated that nine of the above-mentioned 28 individuals took part in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention.

According to the above article, VERNON GRIZZARD, 24, former national vice president of SDS, was one of the above travel group and had visited Hanoi earlier to bring back three pilots released by North Vietnam. As outlined by GRIZZARD, the Budapest meetings centered on Paris peace talks, on prospects of further student unrest and furthering draft unrest among GIs. GRIZZARD said the North Vietnamese gave no directions for activities in the United States but were pleased and interested in "our" plans.

The North Vietnamese were told of plans for a National GI week just before the November 5, 1968, elections, when ministers will be asked to preach anti-war sermons. The article also stated that "they" were also to try to stir up GIs in coffee houses.

On September 23, 1968, BERNARDINE DOHRN, national functionary of the SDS, spoke at an assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, sponsored by the Columbia University SDS and Columbia University Strike Committee, in New York City. DOHRN stated she had returned from Europe three days ago after she and 27 other American student leaders met in Budapest with five members of the NLF of South Vietnam. DOHRN added that after her group left Budapest, the five NLF members were flying to Moscow, Peking, Hanoi and thence to South Vietnam. She said two of the five specialized in working in with American GIs in Saigon in attempting to obtain information.

TOP SECRET

Twenty individuals traveled at a group rate to Budapest, Hungary, departing John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York, on September 3, 1968, on Pan American Airlines (Pan Am) Flight #90, via Vienna. The group departed Vienna, via Austrian Airlines Flight #621, on September 4, 1968, for Budapest, where they remained until September 10, 1968. VERNON GRIZZARD was the leader of the group.

The arrangements were made and fares were paid through SDS, New York City. The following were the names of the individuals in this travel group:

GERALD BORENSTEIN	PAUL GOLDEN
THOMPSON BRADLEY	VERNON GRIZZARD
PERRY CANNON	HAROLD HECHTER
BRUCE DANCIS	DANIEL JAFFEE
JOHN DAVIS	DAVID KOMATSU
RAY DELLINGER	DAVID LANDAU
FRANK DIMON	ELINOR LANGER
Mrs. SHARIE FITE DIRCKY	VICKI ANN MITTLEFEHDLT
FRANK DUBINSKAS	WILLIAM SPIRA
HOWARD EMMER	FINLEY SCHAEF

The book "SDS" by Kirkpatrick Sale, page 516, reflected that BERNARDINE DOHRN had struck up several close friendships with Vietnamese women during a trip to Europe in the fall (1968) giving one a ring from her own finger as a gesture of comradeship.

On October 29, 1968, at an open forum at the University of Wisconsin, Madison campus, DANIEL DEAN SWINNEY, III, talked about his trip to the countries of Yugoslavia, Hungary, West Germany and France. He spoke of a five-day conference in Yugoslavia, with representatives of the North Vietnamese NLF, at which he was told the NLF was very optimistic about the eventual outcome of the war in Vietnam. He further related that 11 of the Americans on this SDS-sponsored trip burned their draft cards at a reception given for the Americans by the NLF Mission in Yugoslavia. SWINNEY did not identify himself as one of the 11. SWINNEY also spoke about SDS in West Germany.

HELEN RUTH SHILLER, SDS representative, spoke of her recent trip to Cuba. She said that while there she was very

impressed with the large consensus of the population behind the Cuban leader FIDEL CASTRO's reform program and that because of this large consensus elections in Cuba are unnecessary. She also reported on several movies seen by her in Cuba. When asked how she traveled to Cuba. SHILLER said she traveled to this country by way of Mexico City and returned by way of Madrid, Spain.

Both SHILLER and SWINNEY said that their trips were sponsored by the National SDS Office. The individual who went to Mexico said nothing of the reason or the mode of transportation for his travel to this country. SHILLER made it clear that when she was in Cuba she attended, in person, a speech made by CASTRO and she let it be known that it would be difficult to travel to Cuba unless a person had a good connection, such as being affiliated with SDS. SHILLER did not mention the number of others who may have been in the SDS group that she traveled with.

The May 21, 1969, issue of "The Post," an Ohio University student newspaper, published at Athens, Ohio, on page three, contained an article captioned "Student Suggests Military SDS," which reported that JOHN DAVIS, brother of RENNIE DAVIS, had stated he had tried to enlist at Berryville, Virginia, but that authorities there classified him 1-Y as being politically unfit since he had told them he wanted to form an organization called "Soldiers for a Democratic Society."

The article noted DAVIS, a sophomore at Marietta College, "will leave school in June to work with the regional and national SDS organization." The article noted DAVIS had traveled to Europe last summer "at the invitation of National SDS founder TOM HAYDEN, and met with student organizers of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of (North)Vietnam."

126

TOP SECRET

The article reported DAVIS as saying "SDS confronts Imperialists, Capitalists, and Institutionalists that are within the system."

"SDS also believes in destroying the institution."

Another article appeared in the same issue of "The Marcolian" captioned "SDS Anti-Military Ball Called a 'Big Success'" which reported that the SDS group at Marietta College had held an "anti-military ball" at Das Stein Haus on Front Street "to dance and protest against the war, military and draft." JOHN DAVIS, spokesman for the Marietta SDS, termed the event a "big success." The article noted about 250 students and two faculty members attended the event.

"A large flag of the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) was hung on the side wall with a sign entitled Vomit On the Politics of Death" adorned the area immediately behind the band.

127

July, 1969
Havana, Cuba

TOP SECRET

Preface

Immediately following the SDS National Convention held in Chicago, a group of thirty anti-war activists led by BERNARDINE DOHRN, traveled to Cuba where they met with and received instructions from representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. Having received an "immediate" appeal from Hanoi to take measures to prevent the war, the effective leadership of SDS, all of whom were Weathermen conducted their meetings with the Vietnamese under conditions described by CARL DAVIDSON, in the "Guardian" as of "special importance." HUYNH Van Ba, the Viet Cong's chief representative in Havana, told the Weathermen to look for the person who fights hardest against the cops when recruiting; his intimacy with Weathermen continued after the July meetings with a series of phone calls to the SDS National Office. The July, 1969 meetings intensified the revolutionary commitment of the Weathermen to "Bring the War Home." The influence of the Cubans and the North Vietnamese on the future direction of Weatherman was compelling; their actions during the infamous "Days of Rage" held in Chicago in October, 1969, wherein upwards of 300 Weathermen activists were arrested, flowed from their internationalist revolutionary duty.

The July, 1969 meetings in Cuba marked a definitive line of demarcation on the question of armed struggle for the Weatherman. Hereinafter they were not simply theoretical revolutionaries but in adopting the Cuban experience as their guide placed armed struggle in the forefront. On the necessity for armed struggle, the WUO has never varied, hence, the importance of the influence of the DRV, PRG and the Cubans.

TOP SECRET

KIRKPATRICK SALE in "SDS" commenting on the attitude of the Weathermen in the summer of 1969 said:

...The final determinant of Weatherman's character over the summer was its contact with the Cubans and Vietnamese, concrete experience of the Third World revolution it had been so highly touting. NICer Linda Evans made a journey to Hanoi in July, along with six other antiwar activists, in order to bring home three captured U.S. pilots whom the North Vietnamese had released in honor of America's Independence Day. The experience of being in a country resisting American imperialism - 'to see how they are carrying out a people's war,' as companion Norm Fruchter said afterward - was as profound on Evans as it had been on every other previous traveler, and she returned to Chicago full of enthusiasm for the way the Vietnamese were 'winning total victory.'

Influence of the Vietnamese
On Weathermen - July, 1969
Meeting In Havana Cuba

The following Weathermen traveled to Havana, Cuba for an eight day series of meetings with representatives of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam in July, 1969:

BERNARDINE DOHRN
PETER CLAPP
ROBERT "BO" BURLINGHAM
HOWARD "JEFF" MELISH
ELEANOR RASKIN
DIONNE DONGHI
TED GOLD
DIANA OUGHTON
GERRY LONG
CHRISTOPHER "KITT" BAKER
DAVID MILLSTONE
EDWARD "CORKY" BENEDICT
JANE SPIELMAN
MARY WOZNIAK

(KIRKPATRICK SALE: "SDS")

TOP SECRET

120

TOP SECRET

B1

CARL DAVIDSON, former Vice-President of SDS in 1966-1967 and Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS in 1967-68 traveled to Cuba with DOHRN, etal, and reported the essence of the meetings with the Vietnamese in the "Guardian", August 30, 1969. Pertinent portions of DAVIDSON's article are:

> Early in July, about 30 young American radicals, including this reporter, quietly left the U.S. for a meeting in Havana with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
>
> Individuals and groups from the U.S. movement have met with the Vietnamese many times before, but this time, both the Americans and Vietnamese agreed, the meeting was of special importance.
>
> First, the meeting was longer than any previous meeting - eight full days. The composition of the American delegation was also different, at Vietnamese request. Rather than national representatives of a broad range of liberal and radical organizations, the political make-up of the group was mainly local and regional organizers from groups at the hard core of the new left, mostly SDS.
>
> As for the Vietnamese, their two delegations, North and South - were somewhat different as well. There were 14 Vietnamese in all, seven in each delegation. Representatives had come from the minority peoples of both North and South Vietnam, women's organizations, journalists, teachers and committees of solidarity with the American people.

TOP SECRET

There were also official representatives from the DRV and PRG, as well as leaders from the Workers party in North Vietnam, the Peoples Revolutionary party in South Vietnam – both communist – and finally an officer from the Peoples Liberation Armed Forces in South Vietnam.

But the real importance of the meeting lies outside of the composition of the groups and was made clear by the Vietnamese description of the current state of the liberation struggle in Vietnam itself.

What the Vietnamese clearly and convincingly presented, in all the workshops, speeches and discussions, was a picture of the total defeat of U.S. military and political strategy in Vietnam. In the opening presentation, the PLAF military official explained the history of U.S. defeats as well as the current situation....

But the Vietnamese never speak of victory in purely military terms. The political fruit of each success has always been the dominant factor in all of their considerations; and the most important political victory of all the fighting up till now and especially since Tet had been the total isolation of the puppet regime concurrent with the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government....

On the strategic level, the Vietnamese see their struggle being waged on three fronts: in Vietnam, in Paris and in international public opinion, particularly within the United States. They believe that they have essentially won in Vietnam by defeating the U.S. political and military strategy. They believe they have won diplomatically in Paris with the presentation of the NFL 10-point program and the total bankruptcy of the U.S. negotiating position.

What remains and what the Vietnamese believed could play an almost decisive role in bringing the war to an early end at this point is the antiwar movement within the U.S. The Vietnamese were well aware that more Americans than ever opposed the war, but were

curious as to why the massive antiwar mobilizations had gone downhill since the spring of 1967. They understood the differences between and among the liberals and the radicals but asked pointedly, why they could not unite around the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The message was clear: Now, more than ever, Vietnam must be a central issue taken to the American people. Hundreds of thousands, even millions must be moved to understand and act in solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

And on the July meetings between Weathermen and representatives of the DRV and PRG, KIRKPATRICK SALE in "SDS" comments:

A week later a contingent of Weathermen returned from an intensive eight-day meeting in Cuba with representatives of North Vietnam and the New Provisional Government of South Vietnam full of the same enthusiasm, only coupled with the additional elation of seeing the Cuban society at work. The messages from the Vietnamese were two, both grist for the weathmill: first, in the words of a man from the People's Liberation Armed Forces, that 'the U.S. can never escape from the labyrinth and sea of fire of peoples' war' and was suffering total defeat in Vietnam; second, that American revolutionaries had the job of building the American movement to the point where it could put invincible pressure upon the government for withdrawal. To the Weathermen, this meant that the collapse of the U.S. government was imminent, perhaps a matter of months rather than years, that the 'duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution,' and that Americans had to go back and fight in the 'mother country' as vigorously as the Vietnamese and the Cubans in the Third World. People from other sections of the movement who made the trip with the Weathermen (and for the most part ended up in bitter disputes with them) recall that on the boat going back the Weathermen were going around promising to 'kick ass' once they got back – which could hardly have been what their hosts had in mind in urging the expansion of the American movement. But the Weathermen were not

to be swayed from their vision; as Ted Gold put it, in an article for 'Liberation News Service' which apparently reflected the passions of all the Weathermen who had made the trip:

> 'As people who are located inside the monster, revolutionary Americans are in a position to do decisive damage to the U.S. ruling class's plans to continue and expand its world rule. The upcoming defeat in Vietnam will be a vital blow to those plans; we must aim to do everything we can to speed up that effect.'

"And in every Weatherman collective that message was taken to heart...."

To further emphasize the importance of what Cuba and Vietnam meant to the Weathermen, Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech in their nationally syndicated series of articles captioned, "Cuba: School for U.S. Radicals" written in October, 1970 had the following report pertaining to the July, 1969 meetings:

> ...From the start, Hanoi has waged a two-front war - one on the battlefields of South Vietnam, the other for the 'hearts and minds' of the American people. A third, less important, front opened with the Paris peace talks in 1968.
>
> Obviously Hanoi did not create antiwar dissent in the United States, What the Vietnamese Communists did do, however, was to exploit that dissent for their own purposes. In this endeavor they found ready-made collaborators in the young American radicals.
>
> As is the case with so many love affairs, it is difficult to say with precision when the U.S. New Left and the Viet Cong first became enamored of each other.

TOP SECRET

But the courtship appears to have become serious about four years ago when more young U.S. radicals began to trickle into Castro's Cuba in search of a new world to replace the 'rotten, corrupt, fascist pig state' they lived in.

The climate hardly could have been more salubrious, the atmosphere more heady. In Cuba the Americans could meet, talk with and learn from real, live revolutionaries — Cubans, Vietnamese, North Koreans, Chinese, black Africans and an occasional Palestinian commando.

The central identification was with Cuba and Communist Vietnam. Cuba already had defeated the 'imperialist monster,' the United States, and Vietnamese Communists were engaged in a valiant struggle against the same foe.

Cuba's commitment to North Vietnam was a deeply felt thing. Both peoples felt they were being persecuted by the United States, and many Cubans felt Cuba would be attacked by America, next after Vietnam.

...If Castro couldn't supply troops to fight alongside the Vietnamese Communists, the least he could do was provide Hanoi with a base in the Western Hemisphere where its agents could link up with sympathetic Americans.

"As the trickle of U.S. radicals arriving in Cuba became a flood and antiwar dissent mounted at home, the romance between the young Americans and the Viet Cong grew in intensity. By 1968 they had joined hands in a common effort to end the bombing of North Vietnam and have all U.S. troops withdrawn from the south.

The Americans were instructed to organize more antiwar demonstrations, emphasize the number of American casualties, the number of planes being shot down and the high cost of the war.

TOP SECRET

134

TOP SECRET

The man who gave these "orders," all of which the Americans subsequently carried out, was Huynh Van Ba, the Viet Cong's chief representative in Havana.

The Viet Cong also encouraged organized draft resistance. And Van Ba suggested that it would be useful to have some radicals volunteer for service to foment antiwar sentiment within the armed forces. (Earlier, an American black nationalist in Cuba had urged black soldiers to kill white soldiers.)

8-day seminar
with Vietnamese

Van Ba was very insistent on one point: The Americans should be careful not to use the word 'communism,' just as the revolutionary movements in Cuba and Vietnam avoided it during the first stages of the revolution, because the word has a bad name in some circles.

It was far better, he said, to talk about the new life after the revolution, and in terms that everybody could understand such as free medical care and better living conditions.

By 1969 the young Americans and the Vietnamese Communists had been going steady, as it were, long enough to become engaged. More and more Americans returned from Cuba proudly wearing rings made from the metal of U.S. planes shot down over North Vietnam.

In some cases they claimed to have met the young 'heroes and heroines' who shot down the planes.

The formal marriage took place in July, 1969, when a group of 30 young SDSers led by Bernardine Dohrn, the miniskirted Weatherwoman, journeyed to Havana via Mexico for an eight-day seminar with the Vietnamese.

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

...A more intimate view of the exchange between the Vietnamese and the Americans was supplied by Huynh Van Ba in his advice on recruiting guerrillas in the United States:

"When you go into a city, look for the person who fights hardest against the cops. That's the one you want to talk all night with. Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights.

Conference notes
detail agenda

Another view of what went on inside the Havana conference was provided in notes taken by Bernardine Dohrn. Later found in a Chicago apartment that she and other Weathermen had converted into a bomb factory, the notes covered the agenda of the eight-day meeting.

"...Her report on the conference included the names of all the Vietnamese delegates; a Communist analysis of 'Vietnamization' of the war and why it was doomed to fail; an analysis of the weakness of the 'Thieu-Ky puppet regime,' a breakdown of U.S. casualties according to branch of service; Hanoi's view of U.S. strategy for all Southeast Asia and the Far East and how it was to be countered; plans for a Communist insurgency in Thailand; a statement that the 'armed struggle in South Korea has begun,' and a detailed report on Communist political activities in South Vietnam.

One of the more interesting entries, in Bernardine's own 'shorthand,' was dated July 31. Under the heading, 'VN (Vietnam questions to us)' Bernardine wrote:

"1. How do the American people understand fundamental pts (points) of VN people in 10 pt. program (a reference to the Communists' 10-point program for peace)?

'2. Self-determination (how self-determination for the South Vietnamese was to be achieved).

'3. Do we think that setting up of PRG (provisional revolutionary government) is new stage of success in struggle in VN?

'4. Do we think PRG is embodiment of policy unifying diff(erent) nationalities for salvation of VN?

'5. Do we think correct solution is total and unconditional withdrawal? Is (it) only solution? Do they think withdrawal equals surrender?

'6. Did 10 pts. raise any opinion among people in ruling circles? What are main concerns?'

The contacts of HUYNH Van Ba, head of the PRG in Havana, Cuba, did not cease with the meetings with DOHRN and other Weathermen in Havana in July, 1969. CG T-11 during September, 1969, reported Van Ba attempted a number of telephonic contacts with DOHRN with various requests. X

On one occasion, according to CG T-11, Van Ba spoke with MARK RUDD where RUDD said that they would propogate Van Ba's position in their literature and referred Van Ba to the forthcoming supplement to appear in "New Left Notes." X

"New Left Notes," in its issue of August 29, 1969, contained an eight page Special Supplement entitled, "Vietnam Has Won." The Supplement sets forth the Ten Point Peace Program of the NLF and the Twelve Point Program of Action of the PRG. The supplement on page three sets forth an article titled "Bring The War Home" which reflects:

> Five weeks in Cuba, two of them meeting and traveling around with the Vietnamese. One more week working, planning, and writing on a Cuban ship as we returned to socialism.

The people who met with the Vietcong in Cuba tried to bring back more than 'a feeling I can't express in words' (the only result of so many trips in the past). We understood that the reason the Vietnamese called the meeting was to get us moving against the war again. The Vietcong were giving us a kick in the ass at a time when they've defeated the U.S. militarily, but when the Nixon administration is trying to cling to its bases, bombing South Vietnam and bullshiting in Paris more and more intensively. Kicking us in the ass when the revolutionary movement in the United States could be making its internationalism real by getting the U.S. out of Vietnam once and for all. Kicking us in the ass because for the first time we're really strong enough TO END THE WAR, and we've hardly mentioned it for a year. Kicking us in the ass so we could start kicking ass inside the monster.

Kick ass is the main message we brought back from the meeting. Some people are saying that now we should be fighting to end the war; kicking ass is for later. Building a revolutionary movement is for later. Bullshit. Fighting to end the war, to bring it home, is the same as building a revolutionary movement. It involves the same things; reaching out to more oppressed sectors of youth, militant struggles with a clear internationalist focus, building cadre into a real fighting force. That's what we need to do to organize white people to help smash imperialism.

At the meeting in Cuba with the PRG; Van Ba (head of the PRG delegation) told us: 'When you go into a city, look for the person who fights hardest against the cops. That's the one you talk all night with. Don't look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights.'

That's the way the Vietnamese built the PLA. Right now the only way we're going to build a white fighting force is if we become one ourselves. Then the white kids across the country who've been way ahead of us — the kids who've been fighting — will know what we want them to join.

Direct Effect of Vietnamese and Cuban Influence on Weathermen After July, 1969, Meetings in Cuba

Preface

The distinguishing characteristic of the Weathermen group after the July meetings with the DRV and PRG in Havana was the intensity of their buildup to the coming "National Action" under the slogan of "Bring The War Home." Their commitment in practice flowed from their obligation as revolutionaries who were part of the international communist movement, specifically identified with the Cuban center of world revolution. The "National Action" was, therefore, not merely another anti-war demonstration nor was it a single issue matter. It was carried out to further the communist anti-imperialist struggle and to create in Guevara's words, "Two, Three, Many Vietnams."

Hence, the recounting here of the October, 1969, "Days of Rage," is germane to any understanding of the foreign influence on Weatherman.

"National Action"
October 8-11, 1969
Chicago, Illinois

B1

[redacted] on August 19, 1969, advised that a press conference had been held that date in New York City at the Diplomat Hotel by BERNARDINE DOHRN, TED GOLD, DIONNE DONGHI, JEFF MELISH and ELEANOR RASKIN, all of whom had been part of an SDS delegation that had just returned from Cuba. KATHY BOUDIN also was a part of the press conference but she had not traveled to Cuba with the other representatives. The official statement issued by DOHRN was as follows:

"QUYET CHIEN QUYET THANG
(DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN)

We are members of a delegation of white American revolutionaries who have just returned from a meeting with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG). The meeting took place in Cuba, free territory of the Americas.

The PRG delegates to the meeting explained to us the actual political and military situation

139

in Vietnam which has been systematically hidden from the American people by the Nixon administration and the press. United States imperialism is being completely defeated in Vietnam. Militarily, the United States has been reduced to the desperate defense of its bases in the cities, combined with constant and indiscriminate bombings of the entire population. But the U.S. bases are being successfully attacked and even inside the cities there are large sections where U.S. troops cannot go.

Over 11 million out of South Vietnam's 14 million people are living in the liberated areas administered by the PRG. Because their war for self determination is a people's war, there are 11 million soldiers fighting against U.S. imperialism. Representing the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people the Provsional Revolutionary Government is the legitimate government of South Vietnam.

No matter how long U.S. imperialism tries to hang on to South Vietnam, it will lose. Every day the war goes on means the death of more Vietnamese and more American GIs who have no interest in continuing the war. We are committing ourselves to intensifying the struggle against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and in support of the Vietnamese people until all U.S. troops leave Vietnam. As people who are located inside the imperialist monster, we are in a position to do decisive damage to the American ruling class's plans to continue and expand its world rule. The upcoming U.S. defeat in Vietnam will be a vital blow to those plans; we aim to do everything we can to speed up that defeat.

As part of that struggle, Students for a Democratic Society has called a demonstration in Chicago which will take place from October 8th to October 11th. The demonstration in support of the PRG will demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and all other occupied areas, immediate release of all black and brown prisoners and all other political prisoners, independence for Puerto Rico, and an end to the

TOP SECRET

income tax war surcharge. We ask everyone who supports the Vietnamese people's struggle to join us.

Preparatory to the National Action, the Weatherman called for a National Action Conference which was held in Cleveland, Ohio, during August 29 through September 1, 1969. At the first session of the conference, the first order of business was presentations by recent travels to Cuba regarding the efforts to be made by SDS against the war in Vietnam. Included among the speakers was DIONNE DONGHI from New York City. (S)

LINDA EVANS then told the conference about her trip to North Vietnam including a visit to the city of Hanoi. EVANS stated she had been part of a group that went to Hanoi to bring back captured American war prisoners. At one point in her speech she told of being shown an anti-aircraft gun which was operated by Viet Cong women. She told the SDS conference that she cradled the gun in her arms "wishing that an American plane would come over." EVANS also talked about the economy of Vietnam and concluded her comments with an emotional talk about being a "communist." (U)

B1

141

[redacted] further reported on the speech of BILL AYERS, Educational Secretary of SDS and a Weatherman leader, wherein AYERS outlined the coming effort of the National Action. "New Left Notes" of September 12, 1969, reported AYERS' speech under the caption "A Strategy to Win." Pertinent portions reflecting the Weatherman commitment to the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam are: [redacted]

'I think that the national action has to be seen in the context of a strategy that's going to win, that's going to help the NLF concretely, that's going to build Weatherman, and that's going to build a fighting revolutionary youth movement.... [redacted]

"I think people should push out this slogan 'Bring The War Home.' We're not just saying bring the troops home, bring the U S troops home and deploy them some place some other time, we're saying bring the war home.... [redacted]

I think people understand how this kind of action at this time, given the whole thing in Paris and the situation the Vietnamese are in now, can concretely aid the Vietnamese. The other thing that people have to get confident about is that we can build a revolutionary youth movement.... [redacted]

Quickly setting up a National Action Staff*, the Weathermen set forth their political line and agenda for the National Action in the following article:

"New Left Notes," August 23, 1969, under the heading "BRINGING THE WAR BACK HOME: LESS TALK MORE NATIONAL ACTION," reflects:

by Kathy Boudin, Bernardine Dohrn, and Terry Robbins, SDS National Action Staff

(*In addition to BOUDIN, DOHRN and ROBBINS, [redacted] during August-October, 1969, reported that ROBERT ROTH and BOB TOMASHEVSKY from New York City, RUSSELL NEUFELD from New England, SAM KAPP from Boston, LARRY WEISS from Detroit, JOSEPH KELLY from New York, and HOWARD MACHTINGER, all worked on the National Action Staff from the SDS National Office.) [redacted]

The National Action is building fast. All over the country, from Detroit to Houston, from Miami through the cities in Ohio and out to Denver, Colorado, people are digging on the action--and diggin on SDS. For the past two months, the National Officers, the National Action staff, and the National Office staff have been busting to get out propaganda, develop a scenario with other organizations for the action itself, build contacts throughout the country, get people in motion, and develop an overall strategy for building the action in the next couple of months. In this report, we want to fill people in on what's been going on--and talk about what should be going on--in cities, chapters, and regions in order to build the action, and the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

POLITICS AND STRATEGY: BRING THE WAR HOME!

One of the most important reasons for calling the National Action lies with the decision SDS made in Ann Arbor last winter that it was possible and necessary to build an anti-imperialist, working class youth movement in the mother country; a movement that allies with and provides material aid to the people of Vietnam, of the black and brown colonies, and to all oppressed people of the world.

Over the past year, our understanding of the nature of imperialism and the capitalist system has increased tremendously: building the RYM is a programmatic response to that understanding.

And what became clear to people--through the struggles at Columbia and Chicago, at San Francisco State and at Kent State--was that putting forward our politics in an aggressive way was the ONLY way to organize the masses of people in this country. That only by dealing with the issues of white supremacy, the black liberation struggle, Third World struggles, and the fight against imperialism, only by challenging the consciousness of the people could we ever develop a movement capable of helping topple the imperialist state.

Key to all this is the need for militancy, the need for struggle.

TOP SECRET

Our strategy of building a fighting force is being put forth openly for the national action, as well as for local organizing. Because national demonstrations have their major impact on the political issues and tone which is carried back for ongoing work, we put forward a struggle scenario of the action. Because we know that revolutionaries are created in struggle and not through protest or persuasion, we say clearly that this is an action not to register a complaint or up the percentage points in public opinion polls, but to make a difference, to create the solution.

The National Action is one of the key ways of talking to young people in this country about building a class conscious revolutionary youth movement which has as its primary task the establishment of another front in the international class war--not only to defeat the imperialists in Vietnam but to BRING THE WAR HOME!

Chicago is the site. It is here that thousands of young people faced the blind terror or the military state; where dreams of grandeur and new life turned into the slaughter of innocence. And it was also here that those same people began to fight back--to struggle against the betrayal, the lies, the oppressiveness and the brutality of the state.

We are coming back to turn pig city into the people's city.

THE SCENARIO...

Our tactics in Chicago this year will grow from the struggles we have been engaged in for the past year. We move in tight groups, taking care of each other while taking care of business, acting in an essentially defensive manner within what is actually a political offensive. This October, we must be the best we've ever been. That means that people who are commiteed to the action, who are organizing around it in local and regional areas, are going to be the ones with the major responsibilities for leadership in the streets of Chicago. Groups of people should form into affinity groups. Spending the summer learning

karate (not for beating a pig with a gun, but for physical and mental conditioning), learning first aid, and learning how to move in the streets by organizing build-up actions in local areas to turn people on to coming to Chicago.

Finally, the attitude of the Weathermen and their enthusiasm in carrying out their internationalist duty at the time of the National Action is best described in the following in-depth coverage provided by Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech in their nationally syndicated series entitled "Cuba: School for U.S. Radicals."

> 'It is love that feeds the inextinguishable hate against the United States'--a Viet Cong delegate to the 1968 'Cultural Congress of Havana'.
>
> 'Vietnam Will Win !'--The Students for a Democratic Society.
>
> The ideological mating between the American radical left and the Vietnamese Communists, with Fidel Castro playing matchmaker, exploded in 'four days of rage' in the streets of Chicago in October, 1969.
>
> Nearly everybody in Chicago knows what happened. A few hundred student radicals who called themselves Weathermen surged through Chicago streets smashing windows, overturning cars, beating up innocent bystanders who got in their way and battling the police.
>
> But if most people know what happened, few knew why it happened or what it was all about.
>
> What it was about was this: The helmeted Weathermen were literally making good in their battle cry, 'Bring the War Home!' They were opening a second front in Chicago to help their embattled comrades in Vietnam.
>
> The idea may seem preposterous, considering the odds. But good revolutionaries are

never deterred by odds. If they were, there never would be a revolution. Revolutionaries must first be true believers.

With an engaging candor, the radical SDSers made no secret of their meeting with the Vietnamese in Havana. They advertised it. After returning to the United States on a Cuban sugar freighter via Canada, Bernardine Dohrn, Ted Gold and other SDS leaders held a press conference in New York in August.

After stating that the United States had all but lost the war, SDS announced a 'national action week against the war to take place in Chicago Oct. 8-11.'

'This demonstration in support of the PRG,'said Gold, 'will demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and all other occupied areas, immediate release of all black and brown prisoners and all other prisoners inside this country, the independence of Puerto Rico and the end of the income tax war surcharge.'

At this point the young radicals were in a high state of excitement and full of plans. Dr. Quentin D. Young, a Chicago physician and avowed radical who knew Bernardine and other Weathermen both as doctor and friend, had this to say:

'Bernardine went down there already influenced by Cuba and in a state of romantic anticipation. She was at the top of the thermometer going down. I talked to her, sort of debriefed her, when she came back. There is no doubt that her views were buttressed by what she saw and heard down there.'

Other Weathermen were similarly keyed up, said Young, who is proud that two of his children have journeyed to Cuba to cut cane or pick oranges.

There was much to be done in preparation for the October 'action week' in Chicago. Mark Rudd, Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, Dionne Donghi, Linda Evans and other heroes and heroines of the ultraradical left stumped the country organizing and recruiting support for the impending 'Four Days of Rage.'

'We're not Communist-inspired,' said Rudd in a television interview in Cleveland in August, 1969, 'we're Communists. Almost half the people of the world are Communists. We're throwing in with them.'

'We are revolutionary Communists,' said Ayers. 'We're fighting to destroy imperialism and establisheed a socialist state.'

October 8-11, 1969

As reported by the Statistical Section of the Records and Identification Division of the Chicago Police Department, 287 arrests occurred for various charges of mob action, resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, aggravated battery and other offenses drring the Weatherman "Days of Rage" mob activity October 8 through 11, 1969. During this period 59 police officers sustained personal injury including abrasions, contusions, cuts and bruises on the arms, legs, groins, body and head; human bites on the arms and hands, loose teeth and injury to eyes and ears.

On December 1 and 19, 1969, a special Grand Jury, Cook County, Illinois, returned indictments against 64 Weathermen as a result of the street disorders, October 8-11, 1969, in Chicago. The charges included aggravated battery, resisting arrest, mob action and aiding an escape.

Undaunted by the sharp criticism of the left regarding their adventurism, the Weathermen considered the National Action to be a success. Their report in "New Left Notes," October 21, 1969, set the tone for their future in the underground. The article revealed:

CHICAGO 69

On Monday, October 6, 1969, a pig statute honoring the murderers of Chicago strikers in the Haymarket Massacre of 1886 was blown to bits. On Tuesday, October 7, the head of the Chicago Pig Sergeants Association said that 'SDS has declared war on the Chicago police--from here on in it's kill or be killed.' On Wednesday, October 8, the war was on. A white fighting force was born in the streets of pig city.

500 of us moved through the richest sections of Chicago, with VC flags in front, smashing luxury apartment windows and storefronts, ripping apart the Loop, and injuring scores of pigs. An undercover pig was critically injured when the brothers and sisters found him rooting and snorting around one of the movement centers. SDS women with clubs battled armed pigs on a march to an induction center. 8 of our people were shot, and over 100 were busted. It was war-- we knew it and the pigs knew it.

We came to Chicago to join the other side-- to stop talking and start fighting with the VC, the Pathet Lao in Laos, the Tupamaros in Uruguay and the Black Liberation struggle. We came to do material damage to pig Amerika and all that it's about--its school-jails, its pig armies, its fat businessmen, and its greedy empire. We came to do it in the road--in the open--so that white Amerika could dig on the opening of a new front, on the birth of a new brigade in the world liberation army. We came to attack--because we know that the only things to defend in honkie Amerika are the privileges--the cars, the apartments, the hotels, the TVs--that we've gained off the sweat of the people of the world. We came to vamp on those privileges and destroy the m-----f----- from the inside.

There were only 500 of us, but we forced Pig Daley to call in the Guard. We forced him to withdraw some occupation pigs from the black community and deal with us in Evanston

and in Lincoln Park. We did what we set out to do, and in the process turned a corner. FROM HERE ON IT'S ONE BATTLE AFTER ANOTHER--WITH WHITE YOUTH JOINING IN THE FIGHT AND TAKING THE NECESSARY RISKS. PIG AMERIKA--BEWARE: THERE'S AN ARMY GROWING RIGHT IN YOUR GUTS, AND IT'S GOING TO HELP BRING YOU DOWN.

DID THAT PIG SAY KILL...OR BE KILLED?

TOP SECRET

Additional Contacts Between SDS National Office (Weatherman) and Hanoi During Summer-Fall, 1969

"New Left Notes"
June 25, 1969

(33)(01)

2:3 RS HKW214 HFA045 NR997 75 PD INTL CD HANOI VIA WUI

4 1000

SDS

WEST MADISON CHICAGO ILL

ON JUNE 14 15 AND 20 US ARTILLERY SHELLED FROM SOUTHERN ON VINHLINH AREA STOP JUNE 14 16 AND 19 MANY FLIGHTS DROPPED EXPLOSIVE STEEL PELLET AND INCENDIARY BOMBS PROVINCE AND MINHLINH CAUSING LOSSES PROPERTY LIVES STOP APPEAL YOU TAKE IMMEDIATE PREVENT US WAR AVTS DEMAND US GOVERNMENT STOP ENCROACHMENTS SECURITY SOVEREIGITY STOP SINCERE THANKS

14 15 20 14 16 19 A4 F4 F105.

TOP SECRET

150

On June 29, 1969, the following telegram was sent to the SDS National Office, Chicago, from the Special Mission in Hanoi, North Vietnam: (C)

> South Vietnam LSU rejoices at SDS big success at Chicago National Convention where resolution on Viet Nam war was adopted condemning NIXON's stubborness, war likeness, spurring him to end aggression, war, bring home US youth, recognize south Vietnam peoples self-determination right without US interference. Sincerely thank you. Egelson's warmest greetings on foundation of provisional revolutionary government. (C)

Source indicated that this telegram was sent to NICK EGELSON who had previously sent a message of congratulations to the South Vietnamese on founding the Provisional Revolutionary Government. (C)

On September 9, 1969, BERNARDINE DOHRN sent the following telegram to HUYNH Van Ba, Embassy of the Republic of South Vietnam, Havana, Cuba; Prime Minister PHAM Van Dong, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam; and HOI HIEP SINH VIEN Vn, Hanoi, North Vietnam: (C)

> Do not weep at sorrow. Do not weep at separation. Do not weep at death. Save your tears for victory. We deeply mourn the death of Ho Chi Minh by redoubling our struggle to end US aggression and to defeat imperialism. Long live the victory of the Vietnamese people. (C)

Signed "100 SDS women" and "Bernardine Dohrn" (C)

151

Venceremos Brigade (VB)

The initiation, planning and organizing of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) trips to Cuba was handled by SDS leadership who were Weathermen. During the period from December, 1968, until the first trip in November, 1969, BERNARDINE DOHRN, then Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS, had numerous contacts with the Cuban United Nations Mission regarding travel to Cuba by SDS activists, including the initiation of the VB cane cutting expeditions. A principal figure in the initiation of these trips was JULIE NICHAMIN, who spent the period of January to April, 1969, in Cuba obtaining her revolutionary experience and being influenced directly by the Cubans and North Vietnamese. Her statements on the international aspects of revolution go to the heart of the future Weather Underground rationale for committing armed struggle within the United States.

After the initial VB trip to Cuba in November-December, 1969, Weatherman had little to do with the future trips. This was simply because they entered the underground and the principal initiators of the VB, DOHRN, NICHAMIN, KAREN ASHLEY, ARLENE BERGMAN and JERRY LONG, were primary leaders in the WUO. Weathermen did attempt to use the early VB trips, however, to gain converts to their revolutionary cause; as reported by various sources, they were unsuccessful.

The influence of the Cuban government and their contacts with SDS leaders via the Cuban United Nations Mission in New York, which resulted in the VB trips, was enormous. The SDS leaders responsible for these trips were all Weatherman.

The following sets forth Weatherman connection with VB trips to Cuba.

TOP SECRET

Initiation of the Brigades[a]

(See appendix on House Committee Testimony of Ronald L. Brooks)

"GRANMA," the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, in its issue of December 10, 1969, reported the following interview of JULIE NICHAMIN from Havana on December 9, 1969:

QUESTION: How did you get the idea for the Brigade, and why do you call it Venceremos?

NICHAMIN: A group of Americans came to Cuba for the tenth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution this year, and after hearing Fidel's speech on January 2nd, some of us realized possibly for the first time, the importance of the ten million crop. We feel it is important for the Americans to understand what is going on in Cuba now. We had the idea of forming a brigade to be sent to Cuba to fight beside the Cubans in the battle of the ten million tons. We want people to understand that the battle of the Cuban people, like the battle of the Vietnamese people is the same battle to which we are committed, a battle against American imperialism. We thought that by coming here we could demonstrate many things. That is why we chose the name 'Venceremos.'

QUESTION: Who made up this brigade?

NICHAMIN: The National Committee of the Brigade was responsible for organizing in the United States. They set up regional committees in 15 cities. These committees were made up of people who wanted to help the Brigade and support the Cuban Revolution.

TOP SECRET

153

QUESTION: What benefit have you gained from your experience here in Cuba, working with the Cuban people?

NICHAMIN: One of the most important things we have learned and are learning is a revolutionary conscience. All the people are ready to do battle and they understand that whatever we are doing, we could always do more. We must never accept the idea of defeat. I think that it is one of the most important things we learned here.

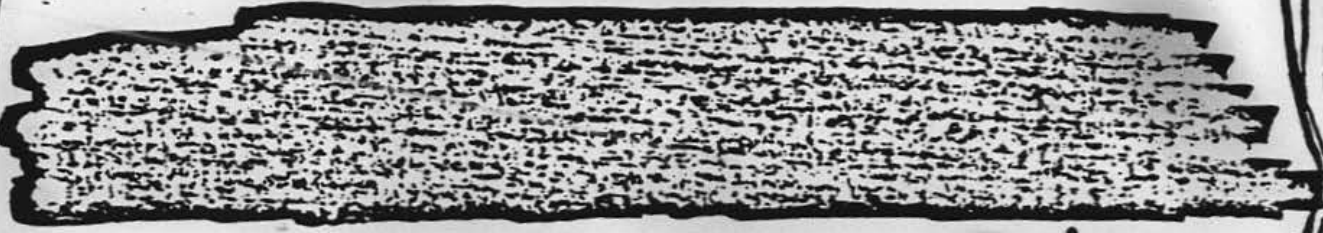
After a few replies to this question by other members of the panel, NICHAMIN stated that "The way for us to attack American imperialism is by fighting on many fronts."

QUESTION: How do you feel here in Cuba?

NICHAMIN: Now I can understand better the nature of the battle and how the Cubans can be so sure of the advance of the battle in the United States and the rest of the world. I think it is the most important thing I learned here to believe in our power to change things, believe in the power of the people to conquer and destroy imperialism.

The book "SDS," by KIRKPATRICK SALE, page 517, concerned activity during Spring, 1969, and stated in part as follows:

"But by far the most important international turn was toward Cuba, to which RYM adherents looked for inspiration and where SDS sent an official delegation in honor of the 10th anniversary of the revolution. This visit in turn laid the groundwork for a scheme to send Movement people to Cuba to cut sugar cane for the 1970 harvest, a project which eventually evolved into the Venceremos Brigade....

"New Left Notes," official SDS publication, on January 29, 1969, under the caption "Cuba: The 10th Anniversary" by CARL OGLESBY, identified OGLESBY, BRUCE GOLDBERG from Colorado, and RUSS NEUFELD from New England as the above official delegation.

The above mentioned book also states:

> SDS was instrumental in creating the Venceremos Brigade during these months. SDSers Julie Nichamin and Brian Murphy worked out the original arrangements with the Cuban government; Bernardine Dohrn devoted considerable time during the spring organizing it at the Chicago end; and the initial National Executive Committee of the Brigade included SDSers Karen Ashley of the New York Regional Office, Arlene Eisen Bergman of the Movement, Gerry Long of Chicago Newsreel, Connie Ullman (Long's wife) of the NO staff, and Allen Young of Liberation News Service, in addition to Nichamin. Other SDSers who played a leading role in the Brigade as it developed over the spring and summer were Amy Ansara (Cambridge), John Buttney (Denver), Howie Emmer and Rick Erickson (both from Kent State), John Fuerst (Wisconsin), Phoebe Hirsch (Chicago), Jim Jacobs (REP), Mike Klonsky, Howard Machtinger, and Diana Oughton. Ultimately SDS's own internal problems kept it from playing a major role as an organization in the final working out of the project, but SDSers were numerous among the 216 volunteers who made the first trip to Cuba in November of 1969.

Cuban Intelligence
Interest in VB

Not only could the Cuban government take considerable pride in knowing that their brand of action-oriented revolution was being espoused by a segment of the revolutionary movement but also the Cuban government had some very practical considerations in mind in cultivating such groups as the VB and allowing them to travel to Cuba. (S)

The DGI's interest in the VB is an extension of its over-all policy relating to the collection of intelligence on the U.S., its primary target. The DGI considers recruitment of VB members, selected after detailed assessment, as one of the primary means through which intelligence can be collected on the U.S. (S)

The DGI believes that it is to their advantage to establish and maintain contact with organizations, groups and individuals who are sympathetic to the Cuban revolution and who are disenchanted with present conditions in the U.S., and it sees the VB as such a group. (S)

The ultimate objective in the DGI's participation with the VB is the recruitment of individuals who are politically oriented and who someday may obtain a position, elective or appointive, somewhere in the U.S. Government, which would provide the Cuban government with access to political, economic and military intelligence. In addition, the DGI attempts to select individuals who can legitimately apply for membership to various political or student-type organizations to report on the activities, personalities and political orientation of each group. The DGI also seeks individuals among the VB who can fulfill an operational support role; that is, who wittingly or unwittingly would serve as an accommodation address or serve in some other intelligence support capacity. (S)

VB members are questioned in detail regarding their immediate families, relatives and friends.

The DGI has provided various forms of special training to a few persons from each VB contingent. The fact that the DGI has provided training to an individual, including training in clandestine intelligence tradecraft, does not necessarily mean that he is a recruited agent. The Cubans view training as a service to revolutionaries rather than as part of a formal recruitment process. A very limited number of VB members have been trained in guerrilla warfare techniques, including use of arms and explosives. This type training is given only to individuals who specifically request it and only then to persons whom the Cubans feel sure are not penetration agents of American intelligence. (S)

(CG T-14, 4/72)

TOP SECRET

SDS Resolution and Trip Coordinators

The June 18, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes," SDS official publication, contained a resolution which had been submitted to the SDS National Convention by KAREN ASHLEY, GERRY LONG and JULIE NICHAMIN. This article captioned "A Proposal on The Cuban Revolution" stated in part as follows:

> II. Position on the Cuban Revolution
>
> As participants in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement, we fully support the Cuban revolution on the basis of the following:
>
> 1. The Cuban socialist revolution has brought about a re-distribution of wealth and created an economic policy aimed at creating the economic basis (abundance) for a communist society.
>
> 2. Cuba is among the vanguard of an effort to revitalize socialism and create a new socialist man, having clearly learned a great deal from the shortcomings of socialism as practiced in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The gradual elimination of money, the use of moral incentives, mass participation in the military and political processes, the building of mass consciousness, authentic measures to destroy class differences and to prevent the emergence of a new bureaucratic class -- all are part of Cuba's experiment in the creation of a new socialism.
>
> 3. Cuba has developed a new concept of internationalism expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana: 'the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution.' Che's call for 'two, three, many Viet-nams' is a strategy for the defeat of imperialism, and the guiding concept for a new international centered in the Third World and linked to the black liberation struggle as well as struggles in all advanced capitalist countries.
>
> 4. Since Cuba is the first liberated territory in the Americas, it is under constant attack by the US government. As North Americans

TOP SECRET

dedicated to the destruction of imperialism, it is our obligation to oppose our government's policies in the most effective and concrete way possible.

III. Support of a North American Brigade to Cut Cane in the 1970 Sugar Harvest

A brigade of 300 Americans (called the Venceremos Brigade) is being organized to go down to Cuba and cut cane for the 1970 sugar harvest. The brigade will be divided into two sections; one will leave in late November, the other in late January, and each group will stay in Cuba for a two-month period. Members of the brigade will be recruited from activists in the revolutionary movement in this country: blacks, Latinos, white working class youth, students and dropout GI's.

Political Purpose of the Brigade

1. To politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the critical sugar harvest of 1970 with its goal of 10 million tons.

2. To educate people about imperialism and about the international revolution against imperialism. This will be accomplished through a well-developed education and propaganda program. The program will aim at developing an understanding of US imperialism, not only in its most blatant militaristic aspects (as in Vietnam), but also its role in distorting and impeding economic development throughout the Third World.

3. To gain a practical understanding of the creative application of communist principles on a day-to-day basis. The New Left in the advanced capitalist countries has in the last decade clearly defined itself within the tradition of socialist and communist struggle begun a century ago. The American mass media and educational system have made the word communism into anathema; this experience will help us to develop ways of combatting anti-communism.

JEFF JONES, newly-elected Inter-Organizational Secretary, SDS, had furnished Radio Havana, Havana, Cuba, with an interview on the recommendation of the SDS National Convention on June 27, 1969.

Radio Havana on June 28, 1969, aired an interview with JEFF JONES, Inter-Organizational Secretary of SDS.

A source monitored a Radio Havana English broadcast on the evening of November 7, 1969. The source advised this broadcast contained the following information:

The broadcast requested the participation of American citizens in the VB. Radio Havana described the brigade as being made up of Americans coming to Cuba for the purpose of assisting the Cuban people in the harvesting of ten million tons of sugar cane. The broadcast stated that the first contingent of the American VB is due in Havana by mid-November and that a second contingent is scheduled to arrive in Cuba in February, 1970.

The broadcast advised that Americans participating in the "cane-cutting brigade" will be interviewed by representatives of the Cuban people to assess the opinion of the participating Americans towards the Cuban revolution, as well as their sense of accomplishment in assisting the Cuban people during this harvest time. The schedule for the VB is as follows:

Each contingent of the Brigade will be in Cuba approximately six weeks, and working in the fields cutting cane Monday through Friday, 6 AM to 10 AM. Two of the six weeks will be spent for travel throughout Cuba for the purpose of educating the American visitors as to the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution. The broadcast advised that Americans will be furnished clothes and equipment, that each Sunday will be considered a day of rest, and that movies will be shown on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

TOP SECRET

The broadcast stated that the following individuals should be contacted in the United States for the purpose of making arrangements to travel to Cuba with the VB:

Miss JULIE NICHAMIN
In care of the VB, Box 643
Cathedral Station
New York, New York

Miss DIANA OUGHTON
320 Harper Street
Detroit, Michigan

JOHN BUTNEY (phonetic)
1607 Ray Street
Denver, Colorado

BRUCE GOLDBERG
656 Fleshet (phonetic) Street
Denver, Colorado

BRIAN MURPHY
609 Oakland Avenue
Austin, Texas

BILL THOMAS
2116 Southeast Woodard Street
Portland, Oregon

BILL DREW
1332 West Washington Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

PHOEBE HIRSCH
3101 North Sheffield Street
Chicago, Illinois

JERRY LONG
4943 Winthrop Street
Chicago, Illinois

TOP SECRET

Venceremos Brigade -
First and Second Trips

(X) As revealed herein, Weatherman activists through travel to Cuba and contacts with the CMUN initiated, planned and organized the initial VB trip which left in three segments from Mexico City, Mexico, on November 28, December 1 and 5, 1969. (X) The first trip returned via the Cuban vessel Luis Arcos Bergnes on February 12, 1970, disembarking in St. John, New Brunswick.

The second trip left St. John, New Brunswick, on February 13, 1970, on the Luis Arcos Bergnes and returned on April 28, 1970.

After the second trip, there are no known Weathermen reported in any position of responsibility for the organization of subsequent VB trips. The salient fact is that in early February, 1970, the Weatherman closed the SDS National Office and began their underground status which has continued through 1976. Important to the second VB trip is that the responsible Weathermen in charge of the SDS National Office, after closing the doors to SDS, departed for Cuba on this trip.

The following data relates to the first and second VB trips and the identities of Weatherman activists who traveled on one of these trips:

First VB Trip

JULIE ANNE NICHAMIN
PIERRE JOSEPH BARTHEL, New York City
MARIANNE CAMP
NEAL BIRNBAUM, Cambridge, Massachusetts
SONIA HELEN DETTMAN, Boston
LAURA ANN OBERT, Colorado
SHEILA MARIA RYAN, New York
NICHOLAS BRITT RIDDLE
JEFFREY DAVID SOKOLOW, New York City
MALLORIE N. TOLLES, Ohio
ROBERT GREGG WILFONG, JR.
DONNA JEAN WILLMOTT, Ohio

Weatherman Travelers on
Second VB Trip,
February 12, 1970

EDITH CRICHTON, Baltimore/Michigan/Boston
DAVID IRA CAMP, SDS NO/Baltimore
JOHN DE WIND, New York City/Ohio
NANCY FRAPPIER, Michigan/San Francisco
JOYCE GREENWAYS, Ohio
ANN HATHAWAY, Ohio/Detroit
MARGUERITTA HOPE, SDS NO/Seattle
LENORE RUTH KALOM, Detroit/San Francisco
ROBERT HACKMAN, New York City
JONATHAN LERNER, SDS NO/Washington, D.C.
JEFFREY MELISH, SDS NO/New York City
JED PROUJANSKY, SDS NO/New York City
DANIEL ROSS SLICK, New York City
MARGUERITE "MIMI" SMITH, Ohio/Normal, Illinois
CARLIE TANNER, SDS NO/Michigan State University
VICKI GABRINER New York City

The "Chicago Tribune" issue of April 26, 1970, contained an article by RANDALL RICHARD captioned "Yank Cuba Helpers Would Fight U.S." which stated in part as follows:

> A clean shaven young New Yorker didn't hesitate when asked if he would fight for Cubans against his countrymen-'Sure I'd pick up a gun and fight with the Cubans if they'd let me. We're all here to fight for the Cuban revolution.
>
> The majority of the young people obviously respected, admired and in many cases tried to emulate the Cubans and their communist government.
>
> In return they were treated as heroes by their Cuban hosts, who often seemed to take the 'revolutionary movement' in the United States more seriously than those in it.

The "Chicago Tribune" of April 27, 1970, carried an article captioned "Havana Crowd Greets Shipload of U.S. Radicals," which reported the second part of a series by RANDALL RICHARD, reporter for the Providence (Rhode Island) "Journal Bulletin" and who had traveled with the first VB contingent to Cuba. In part the article reports:

> Nearly all factions in the radical movement were represented on the ship except those in the Progressive Labor Party who were specifically excluded. This faction has been critical of the Cuban government and had charged it with being racist and chauvinistic. Among those aboard were the Weatherman, Mad Dogs, Women's Liberation and Revolutionary Youth Movement 2.
>
> There were some who viewed the Venceremos Brigade as an attempt by the national committee and even the Cubans to somehow reunite the warring factions of the radical movement.
>
> However, the constant debates showed that some of the splits were deep and would be difficult to heal. There were the Weatherman, the only tightly-knit political group aboard the ship. While there were less than 30 of them--men and women--their politics were a constant source of controversy even among those who had been committed to the movement for years.
>
> ...The basic 'line,' pushed by one articulate and clean-shaven Weatherman, was that there must be a race war in the states to rid the world of imperialism and capitalism. He said there must be a black revolution, with black against white, in armed struggle....

The "Chicago Tribune," April 29, 1970, contained an article by RANDALL RICHARD captioned "Radicals Avoid Talk of U.S. 'Revolution,'" which states in part as follows:

> There was constant friction between the Weatherman and most other white radicals over revolutionary philosophy and tactics. And

while the blacks and Third World groups--comprising about 35 per cent of the contingent--often met in caucuses, the whites were not so organized.

This edition of the "Chicago Tribune" also contained an article which reflects that U.S. Customs agents seized half a ton of "revolutionary material" on April 28, 1970, from more than 500 Americans who arrivedin St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, after spending two months cutting sugar cane in Cuba for CASTRO.

It was learned that while in Cuba the Weathermen had attempted to recruit among the VB and that after the return of the first brigade to Canada MARK RUDD had reportedly met the ship to indoctrinate the new recruits. (C)

[redacted] B1

It was learned that a VB member had stated that Weathermen had been actively engaged in attempts to recruit members of the brigade to Weatherman and had talked to 50 of the 200 who had made the first trip to Cuba. It was learned that Weathermen had urged VB people to join Weatherman communes upon their return to the United States and had made no secret of Weatherman policy of engaging in assassinations and reprisal bombings. (S)

[redacted]

Contacts with the Cuban Mission
to the United Nations (CMUN),
New York City, New York

Under the caption "Cuba UN Mission Fuels Radicals," Georgie Anne Geyer and Keyes Beech in their nationally syndicated series exposing the influence of the Cuban revolution on American youth, which appeared in October, 1970, in the "Chicago Daily News," reported:

> One of the most carefully watched buildings in the United States is an elegant five-story graystone mansion at 6 E. 67th St., just off Fifth Av. in New York City.
>
> At the turn of the century it was the home of American millionaires. Today, it houses the Cuban mission to the United Nations, the major Cuban source of influence, ideology and funds for American radicals....
>
> On a clandestine level, activity is just as bustling. Secret meetings are held, and funds, advice and influence are dispensed under the huge picture of Che Guevara that hangs amid the antique Chinese vases upstairs in the mansion....
>
> ...At the convention of Students for a Democratic Society in Austin, Tex., in March, 1969, several phone calls a day were made to the mission...
>
> In August, 1969, mission intelligence personnel (everyone except the regular representative to the United Nations is a member of Cuban intelligence) counseled Mark Rudd and Jeff Jones of SDS concerning slogans to be used by SDS in demonstrations planned for that fall.
>
> Much more than slogans and Cuban propaganda films (which are widely used for fund-raising by radical groups on campuses are dispensed by the Cuban mission.
>
> Funds also are dispensed, and possibly explosives. Two mission diplomats -- Alberto Hidalgo Gato and Lazaro Eddy Espinosa Bonet -- were declared persona non grata last year

because of what is described by intelligence agents as 'problems over contacts with the radicals and with explosives.' There was highly placed speculation at the time that the case involved an alleged plot against President Nixon....

Radical leaders admit privately they see the Cuban mission officials 'very often.' One, after saying so, added, 'But please don't print that. They're not supposed to do that, you know.'

What becomes clear from the consistent evidence of such contacts is that the love affair between Communist Cuba and the American radicals now has gone beyond curiosity and empathy.

It has now reached the state of hard-core indoctrination and even collaboration.

* * * * *

Viet War issue brought youths

At this time, too, Castro was becoming more and more emotionally involved with the war in Vietnam. By 1965 and 1966, Havana was filled with posters honoring the 'heroic Vietnamese people.' The Cubans believed that they were 'in the waiting room,' that if America won the Vietnam War, it 'might just turn around and invade us.'

Havana soon was filled with Vietnamese delegations, Vietnamese 'heroines,' Vietnamese orphans. Cuba opened an embassy to the Viet Cong, and Havana newspapers proudly showed pictures of it--a thatched roof hut somewhere behind the battle lines in South Vietnam.

This, too, helped the Cubans with the burgeoning American radical movement, for the war in Vietnam had become their most emotional, overweaning issue. Soon U.S. radicals were meeting with North Vietnamese in Havana, and even getting pointed suggestions on antiwar activities in the United States....

By 1969, the Students for a Democratic Society had split up into radical, violent groups like the Weatherman....

The trips were well organized, and every radical leader came, usually several times. Most came before they were leaders, which gives added credibility to the idea that Cuba was a major, if not THE, radicalizing factor.

'SDS was the group we concentrated on in those days,' says a Cuban who was in the government then. 'Oh, we didn't start it. But we radicalized it, we gave it form. Every leader came and left with new ideas'....

B1

TOP SECRET

On October 1, 1969, BERNARDINE DOHRN of the SDS National Office advised TED GOLD she planned on being in New York City on October 2-4, 1969, and intended to have a meeting with JOSE VIERA, CMUN Counsellor. (U)

b1

CG T-18 advised that JOSE RAUL VIERA LINARES, also known as JOSE VIERA, was First Secretary to the CMUN and has been identified as an officer of the Cuban Intelligence Service. (S)

b1

TOP SECRET

Influence of China

Weatherman from its inception and continuing through to the present time has ideologically identified its major strategical thesis in line with the Chinese. In their initial ideological statement, "You Don't Need A Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows" their understanding of the primary contradiction facing the world was stated in this fashion:

> The overriding consideration in answering the questions is that the main struggle going on the world today is between US imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it.
>
> The primary task of revolutionary struggle is to solve this principal contradiction on the side of the people of the world. It is the oppressed peoples of the world who have created the wealth of this empire and it is to them that it belongs; the goal of the revolutionary struggle must be the control and use of this wealth in the interests of the oppressed peoples of the world. It is in this context that we must examine the revolutionary struggles in the United States.

And in "Prairie Fire", issued in May, 1974, the WUO again identified its primary strategy on the side of Marxism-Leninism-MAO Tse-Tung Thought in the following way:

> The Chinese Revolution is a wonderful development in the advance of humanity. Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party have made many important breakthroughs in developing revolutionary strategy in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial world. The thought common to Mao and Ho Chi-minh – that the central revolutionary force of our time is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world leading the liberation struggle against imperialism — is the guiding strategic principle of this era.

171

B1

B1

B1

B1

Source advised that the newly elected leaders of SDS, MARK RUDD, JEFF JONES and BILL AYERS had sent the following letter to ANNA LOUISE STRONG immediately after the SDS National Convention held in June, 1969: (C)

> Dear Comrade: Our Ninth Convention of SDS was highly honored to hear greetings from our best-loved revolutionary writer and champion of People's China, and the thought of Mao Tse Tung. With help and inspiration of our black and brown brothers and sisters, we have succeeded at this convention in overthrowing the counter-revolutionary PLP forces, who had attempted to seize power. Long live our comrade Anna Louise Strong. Long live People's China. Long life to Comrade Mao

172

Other International Contacts

"New Left Notes," December 4,1967, page one sets forth an article entitled "The International Days of Resistance or 10 Days to Shake the Empire" by CARL DAVIDSON and GREG CALVERT. In part it reflects:

> ...In light of these problems and with a view to the necessity of meeting those new demands placed on SDS, we propose that the National Council adopt the following programs for the spring of 1968....
>
> The international aspects of the program should be developed 1) through coordinated speaking tours by those who will have traveled to North Vietnam and Cuba, and 2) through encouraging anti-imperialist youth groups abroad (e.g. German SDS, French UNEF, Japanese Zengakuren, etc.) to plan direct action in their own countries to coincide with ours.
>
> The National Office will assume responsibility for the coordination of the program and the development of an effective propaganda campaign stressing the anti-imperialist perspective of the program and the necessity for building a radical grass-roots resistance in America....

TOP SECRET

Second International Anti-Imperialist Conference-Japan; September, 1969

Source advised that the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (GENSUIKYO) International Conference would be held in Tokyo, Japan, July 29-August 2, 1969; Hiroshima, Japan, August 4-6, 1969; and Nagasaki, Japan, August 9, 1969. The agency would include five major points:

1. Opposition to the United States in Vietnam and Korea and support for the Vietnamese people.

2. Prevention of nuclear war through an agreement banning the use of nuclear weapons.

3. Abrogation of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the immediate, unconditional return of Okinawa to Japan, the prohibition of the introduction of nuclear weapons to Japan and the opposition to nuclear arming and militarization of Japan.

4. Strengthening of the movement for the relief of atom bomb victims.

5. The strengthening of international solidarity and mutual support.

during August to October, 1969, reported that MIKE JUSTESON, SDS leader from Seattle, Washington, had been sent to Japan by the SDS National Office (Weatherman) leadership, to attend the Second International Anti-Imperialist Conference. JUSTESON on one occasion explained to MARK RUDD, SDS National Secretary, that representatives at the International Conference are split; one group known as the "Red Army" has provoked a split; their intention is to organize an army. JUSTESON maintained that the Weathermen should use a slogan embracing the liberation of Okinawa as part of their forthcoming National Action. (S)

175

League of Socialist German Students (West German SDS)

The April, 1969, issue of "Movement" reflects on page 16 an interview with KARL DIETRICH WOLFF, who was described by the newspaper as the former president of West German SDS (WGSDS).

The newspaper stated that WOLFF was in the United States on a fraternal visit and had been touring SDS chapters, raising funds and building bridges of cooperation between the sister revolutionary movements of the two most reactionary advanced imperialist states.

WOLFF was asked a series of questions by the newspaper, which in answering he made the following comments:

WOLFF stated that since 1959 the WGSDS have understood themselves as the possible nucleus of a revolutionary movement.

In terms of the international situation, WOLFF stated that the WGSDS has an anti-imperialist stand against the United States Government. The WGSDS is fighting the kind of influence that the American Government has in Europe and the complicity of our own government in support of American aggression in Vietnam.

WOLFF stated our strategy in dealing with the struggle against imperialism is a resistance strategy. We are interested in stimulating conflict in the university and other institutions so people can achieve a radical consciousness.

B1

176

B1

B1

The July 29, 1968, issue of "New Left Notes" reflects an article which states: "American SDS has been invited by German SDS to send a delegation to a working conference on 'Anti-Imperialism, Anti-Capitalism, the Student Movement--Programs and Strategies.' The conference will take place in Yugoslavia August 25 through 28, and we have been asked to prepare a paper for presentation on the above theme."

B1

B1

Source advised that GISELLA MANDEL addressed a group of approximately 75 people at the University of Pennsylvania on October 24, 1968. She discussed the student revolution in France, urged more dissent on the part of students, told of police tactics against students in Germany, and urged all present to participate in protests of all types against the police, "The Establishment," and university administrations.

Source furnished a flyer which was distributed on the Ohio State University campus advertising that the Ohio State University SDS chapter had reserved a room on the campus for a speech to be delivered by GISELLA MANDEL on October 22, 1968.

Source advised that MANDEL spoke at the October 22, 1968, meeting which was attended by 125-150 individuals, mostly students. She encouraged students' participation in revolutions and protests. She appeared to be anti-police in her attitude, and was generally critical of the U.S. policy.

Source advised that BERNARDINE DOHRN, National Secretary of the SDS, has arranged the Michigan tour for

TOP SECRET

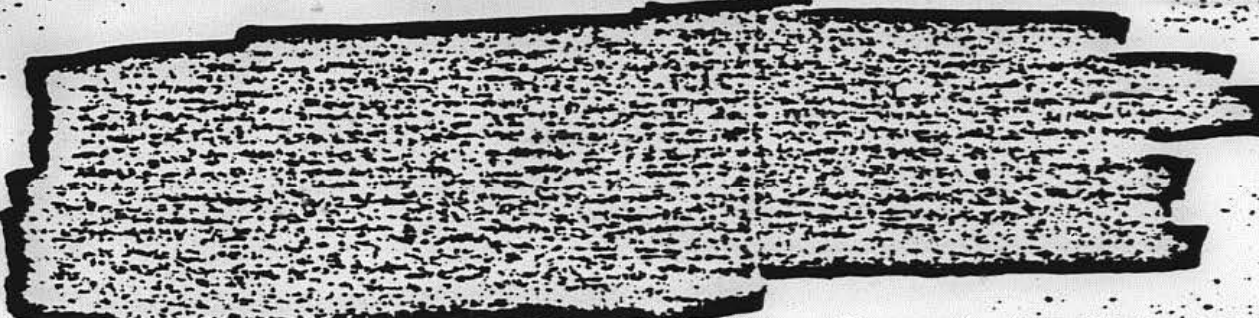
B1

B1

Source advised that WOLFF stayed the night of March 8-9, 1969, with DENA CLAMANGE at 1172 West Hancock, Detroit, Michigan.

DENA CLAMANGE is a recognized leader of the SDS at Wayne State University (WSU), Detroit, who in February, 1968, visited Cuba. Since her return to the United States, she has written several articles of a pro-Cuban nature.

The source advised that WOLFF appeared before an audience of about 30 persons at WSU, Detroit, Michigan, on March 10, 1969.

On March 11, 1969, the George Washington University SDS held a meeting at Monroe Hall, which was attended by approximately 125 people. The SDS chapter had a guest speaker, KARL DIETRICH WOLFF, a WGSDS leader. Shortly after WOLFF's speech he was issued a subpoena by U.S. Marshals to appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 13, 1969.

TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

On March 14, 1969, WOLFF appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. WOLFF engaged in verbal evasion of most of the questions put to him, haranguing at great length on many topics. The hearing ended when WOLFF walked out refusing Senator STROM THURMOND's request to stop his haranguing and start answering questions.

(CG T-31, 3/14/69)

The February 12, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes" reflects an article which states that "SDS will sponsor a speaking trip by Karl Dietrich Wolff, head of the German SDS. Chapters should contact the National Office. This will be late February and early March."

(CG T-32, 5/29/69)

TOP SECRET

180

SECTION III

WUO UNDERGROUND COMMUNIQUES AND BOMBINGS 1970-1976

Having entered underground status in February, 1970 and until the issuance of "Prairie Fire" in July, 1974, the political commitment of the WUO was revealed through the issuance of their underground "communiques." These communiques, usually accompanying a bombing and stating the political reason for the bombing, reveal the continuing identification of the WUO as international revolutionaries. As shown in Section I and Section II, their contacts with representatives of the DRV and PRG obliged them to act directly in behalf of the Vietnamese in this country and, the influence of the Cubans on their ideology and their organizational structure was enormous. In addition, the WUO utilized the conceptions of armed struggle against the state as detailed in the "Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla," by CARLOS MARIGHELLA. MARIGHELLA who was killed in Sao Paulo, Brazil in November, 1969, gave his life in behalf of guerrilla warfare. According to LARRY GRATHWOHL in his recently issued book, "Bringing Down America," the WUO used MARIGHELLA's Minimanual and DEBRAY's "Revolution In The Revolution?" as their models for guerrilla action. The WUO was not simply engaged in ideological rhetoric but had made the hard commitment to engage in armed struggle, the ultimate purpose of which was to destroy the state.

Contained in Section III is the following:

A. <u>Chronology of WUO Communiques</u>
A listing of underground communiques indicating their political purposes from May, 1970, to September, 1975

B. <u>Specific Communiques Showing Continuing Foreign Influence</u>
This material contains four examples of the WUO communique including a statement on the TIMOTHY LEARY escape and travel to Algeria

C. <u>WUO Bombings and Attempted Bombings</u>
This material details approximately forty WUO bombings

A. Chronology of Weather Underground Communiques

Number	Date	Title or Intent	How Signed
#1	5/21/70	"A Declaration of a State of War"	BERNARDINE DOHRN
(2)	6/5/70	Attempted bombing at Hall of Justice	Weatherman
(2)	6/9/70	Bombing New York City Police Department Headquarters	Weatherman
#3	7/26/70	Celebration of 11th anniversary of Cuban revolution and threat to Attorney General MITCHELL	Central Committee Weatherman Underground
#4	9/51/70	Assisting TIMOTHY LEARY to escape to Algeria	BERNARDINE DOHRN
#5	10/6/70	Press conference announcing a fall offensive-numerous bombings in country	BERNARDINE DOHRN JEFF JONES BILL AYERS
#6	10/8/70	Message to Brother DAN BERRIGAN expressing support	The Weatherman Underground
(7)	12/6/70	"New Morning-Changing Weather"	BERNARDINE DOHRN - Weather Underground
#8	2/28/71	Bombing of United States Capitol	Weather Underground
(9)	Mayday, 1971	Letter to Mrs. BACON re: support for LESLIE BACON	Weather Underground
(10)	8/28/71	Response to killing of GEORGE JACKSON (3 bombings involved)	Weather Underground

TOP SECRET

182

Number	Date	Title or Intent	How Signed
#11	9/17/71	Response to Attica riots-bombing of Twin Tower Building	Weather Underground
#12	5/19/72	Response to air war in North Vietnam-bombing of Pentagon	Weather Underground
#13	2/23/73	Common Victories communique issued after Vietnam war ceasefire	Weather Underground
	5/18/73	Protest killing of 10 year old black by New York Police Department officer-attack on 103rd Precinct	Weather Underground New York Region
	7/73	Collective letter to the Women's Movement	Women of the Weather Underground
	9/28/73	Bombing of ITT Head-quarters for Latin America following coup in Chile	Weather Underground
	10/16/73	Letter from HOWARD MACHTINGER	HOWIE MACHTINGER
	2/20/74	Communique on the Symbionese Liberation Army	BERNARDINE DOHRN
	3/6/74	Bombing of HEW, San Francisco to celebrate International Women's Day	Women's Brigade Weather Underground
	3/14/74	Stinkbomb dinner at Hilton Hotel honoring Governor ROCKEFELLER to protest drug program	Weather Underground

Number	Date	Title or Intent	How Signed
	4/74	Analysis of Vietnam and the Movement	(This communique becomes a part of "Prairie Fire" issued in July, 1974-see Section I-Ideology)
	5/31/74	Bombing of California District Attorney EVELLE YOUNGER in retaliation for deaths of SLA members	Weather Underground
	6/13/74	Bombing of headquarters of Gulf Oil, Pittsburgh, for Gulf's involvement in Angola	Weather Underground
	9/10/74	Bombing of Anaconda American Brass Company, Oakland, California in protest of Anaconda's activities in Chile	Weather Underground
	10/17/74	Attempted disruption of Boston School Committee meeting in protest of busing stand	Weather Underground
	1/28/75	Bombing of U.S. Department of State, Washington, D. C., in protest of Vietnam fighting	Weather Underground
	1/28/75	Attempted bombing of the Agency for International Development, Oakland, California to protest renewed fighting in Vietnam	Weather Underground
	6/16/75	Bombing of the Banco de Ponce, New York City showing solidarity with Puerto Rican workers	Weather Underground
	9/5/76	Bombing of Kennecott Copper Company, Salt Lake City, Utah, protesting overthrow of President ALLENDE of Chile	Weather Underground

B. Specific Communiques Showing Continuing Foreign Influence

Although all of the underground communiques issued by the WUO contain a political rationalization for their "actions", and although most of these communiques reveal what they deem to be their international obligations as revolutionaries, the following communiques have been selected as representative of their commitment to armed struggle. In particular the report which accompanies the WUO statement on their assistance to TIMOTHY LEARY in his escape from prison and his eventual travel to Algeria quite clearly shows their international connections. The communiques contained herein are:

May 21, 1970:	A Declaration of a State of War signed by BERNARDINE DOHRN (xeroxed copy of original)
September 15, 1970:	Communique #4 issued on the escape of TIMOTHY LEARY signed by BERNARDINE DOHRN and a report from [redacted]
February 28, 1971:	Communique #8 issued with the bombing of the United States Capitol (xeroxed copy of original)
May 19, 1972:	Communique #12 issued with the bombing of the Pentagon (xeroxed copy of original)

Hello. This is Bernardine Dohrn.

I'm going to read A DECLARATION OF A STATE OF WAR.

This is the first communication from the Weatherman underground.

All over the world, people fighting Amerikan imperialism look to Amerika's youth to use our strategic position behind enemy lines to join forces in the destruction of the empire.

Black people have been fighting almost alone for years. We've known that our job is to lead white kids into armed revolution. We never intended to spend the next five or twenty-five years of our lives in jail. Ever since SDS became revolutionary, we've been trying to show how it is possible to overcome the frustration and impotence that comes from trying to reform this system. Kids know the lines are drawn: revolution is touching all of our lives. Tens of thousands have learned that protest and marches don't do it. Revolutionary violence is the only way.

Now we are adapting the classic guerilla strategy of the Vietcong and the urban guerilla strategy of the Tupamaros to our own situation here in the most technically advanced country in the world.

Che taught us that "revolutionaries move like fish in the sea." The alienation and contempt that young people have for this country has created the ocean for this revolution.

186

The hundreds and thousands of young people who demonstrated in the sixties against the war and for civil rights grew to hundreds of thousands in the past few weeks actively fighting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the attempted genocide against black people. The insanity of Amerikan "justice" has added to its list of atrocities six blacks killed in Augusta, two in Jackson and four white Kent State students making thousands more into revolution

The parents of "privileged" kids have been saying for years tha' the revolution was a game for us. But the war and the racism of thi: society show that it is too fucked up. We will never live peaceably under this system.

This was totally true of those who died in the New York townhou explosion. The third person who was killed there was Terry Robbins, who led the first rebellion at Kent State less than two years ago.

The 12 Weatherman who were indicted for leading last October's riots in Chicago have never left the country. Terry is dead, Linda was captured by a pig informer, but the rest of us move freely in and out of every city and youth scene in this country. We're not hiding out but we're invisible.

There are several hundred members of the Weatherman undergroun and some of us face more years in jail than the 50,000 deserters an draft dodgers now in Canada. Already many of them are coming back to join us in the underground or to return to the Man's army and tear it up from inside along with those who never left.

We fight in many ways. Dope is one of our weapons. The laws against marijuana mean that millions of us are outlaws long before we actually split. Guns and grass are united in the youth underground.

Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks. If you want to find us, this is where we are. In every tribe, commune, dormatory, farmhouse, barracks and townhouse where kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns -- fugitives from Amerikan justice are free to go.

For Diana Oughton, Ted Gold and Terry Robbins, and for all the revolutionaries who are still on the move here, there has been no question for a long time now --- we will never go back.

Within the next fourteen days we will attack a symbol or institution of Amerikan injustice. This is the way we celebrate the example of Eldridge Cleaver and H. Rap Brown and all black revolutionaries who first inspired us by their fight behind enemy lines for the liberation of their people.

Never again will they fight alone.

May 21, 1970

188

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS
1969-1976
(See Section III for Chronology of Bombings and Underground Communiques)

June, 1969	The "Action Faction" of the SDS releases a detailed statement of their political ideology in the official SDS newspaper "New Left Notes." This essay concluded with the quotation "You Dont Need A Weatherman To Know Which Way the Wind Blows" which gave rise to its adherents being called "Weathermen." (Insofar as the organization founded on the "Weatherman Statement" is now called the Weather Underground Organization (WUO), the term WUO will be used interchangeably with Weatherman throughout this document.)
June 18-22, 1969	The SDS National Convention held in Chicago, Illinois, sees the organization collapse as a student group and the WUO seizing control of the SDS National Office. Henceforth any activity run from the SDS National Office is WUO controlled. (The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) members in SDS attempted to use the SDS name in setting up their own office in Massachusetts.)
July, 1969	BERNARDINE DOHRN, ELEANOR RASKIN, DIANNE DONGHI, PETER CLAPP, DAVID MILLSTONE and DIANA OUGHTON, all representing the WUO, travel to Cuba where they meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese and Cuban governments.
August, 1969	WUO member LINDA SUE EVANS travels to North Vietnam. WUO activists meet in Cleveland, Ohio, for the purpose of making final plans for their "National Action" or "Days of Rage" protests scheduled to be held in Chicago in October, 1969.
September 4, 1969	WUO women members from various parts of the country converge on South Hills High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where they run through the school shouting anti-war slogans

27

~~TOP SECRET~~

and distributing literature promoting the "National Action." The term "Pittsburgh 26" refers to the 26 women arrested in connection with this incident.

September 24, 1969	A group of WUO members become involved in a confrontation with Chicago Police when they refuse to clear a street during a demonstration supporting the "National Action" and protesting the commencement of an Antiriot Act trial against eight individuals charged with initiating the riots in connection with the 1968 Democratic National Convention.
October 8-11, 1969	The "Days of Rage" riots occur in Chicago in which 287 WUO members from throughout the country were arrested and a large amount of property damage was done. The four day "National Action" was kicked off by a bombing of the Haymarket police statue on Chicago's near north side. Some of the current underground WUO members became fugitives when they failed to appear for trial in connection with their arrests during these four days.
December 6, 1969	The WUO bombs several police vehicles in Chicago to retaliate for the killing of Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders MARK CLARK and FRED HAMPTON on December 4, 1969, by Chicago Police.
November-December, 1969	The first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade (VB) departs for Cuba to harvest sugar cane. A small number of WUO members participate in this trip.
December 27-31, 1969	The WUO holds a "War Council" meeting in Flint, Michigan, where they finalize their plans to submerge into an underground status from which they plan to commit strategic acts of sabotage against the government.
February, 1970	The WUO closed the SDS National Office in Chicago, thusly concluding the major campus based organization of the 1960s.

~~TOP SECRET~~

FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WUO

~~TOP SECRET~~

The first contingent of the VB returns from Cuba and the second contingent departs.

By mid-February the bulk of the leading WUO members submerge into an underground status.

March 6, 1970 — While one WUO "foco" is preparing to bomb a police facility in Detroit, Michigan, another group blows themselves up when their "bomb factory" located in New York's Greenwich Village accidently explodes. WUO members THEODORE GOLD, DIANA OUGHTON and TERRY ROBBINS die in this incident.

March, 1970 — Several underground WUO members become Federal fugitives when unlawful flight to avoid prosecution warrants are issued in connection with their failure to appear for trials in connection with local cases in Chicago.

March 30,1970 — Chicago Police discover a WUO "bomb factory" on Chicago's north side. A subsequent discovery of a WUO "weapons cache" in a south side Chicago apartment several days later ends WUO activity in the city.

April 2, 1970 — A Federal Grand Jury in Chicago returns a number of indictments charging WUO members with violation of Federal Antiriot Laws. Also a number of additional federal warrants charging

~~TOP SECRET~~

unlawful flight to avoid prosecution are returned in Chicago based on the failure of WUO members to appear for trial in local cases. (The Antiriot Law charges were later dropped in January, 1974.)

April, 1970	WUO members LINDA SUE EVANS and DIANNE DONGHI are arrested in New York by the FBI.
May 21, 1970	The WUO under BERNARDINE DOHRN's name releases its "Declaration of a State of War" communique. (See Section III)
July 23, 1970	A Federal Grand Jury in Detroit, Michigan, returns indictments against a number of underground WUO members and former WUO members charging violations of various explosives and firearms laws. (These indictments were later dropped in October, 1973.)
September 12, 1970	The WUO carries out the escape from prison in California of LSD promoter Dr. TIMOTHY FRANCIS LEARY. (See Section III)
December, 1970	Fugitive WUO member CAROLINE TANNER, who fled the country for Cuba, is arrested by the FBI in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
	Fugitive WUO member JUDITH ALICE CLARK is arrested by the FBI in New York.
April, 1971	FBI Agents discover an abandoned WUO "bomb factory" in San Francisco, California. Numerous fingerprints of WUO members are located in this apartment.

September 19, 1973	Underground WUO member HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER is arrested by the FBI in New York. Released on bond, MACHTINGER again submerges into the underground.
July, 1974	The WUO releases its book "Prairie Fire" in which they indicate the need for a unified Communist Party. They encourage the creation of study groups to discuss their ideology, but continue to stress the need for violent acts. The Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) arises from the teachings in this book and is organized by many former WUO members.
March, 1975	The WUO releases its first edition of a new magazine entitled "Osawatomie."
July 11-13, 1975	The PFOC holds its first national convention during which time they go through the formality of creating a new organization.

"September 15, 1970.
This is the fourth communication from the Weatherman Underground.

The Weatherman Underground has had the honor and pleasure of helping Dr. Timothy Leary escape from the POW camp at San Luis Obispo, California.

Dr. Leary was being held against his will and against the will of millions of kids in this country. He was a political prisoner, captured for the work he did in helping all of us begin the task of creating a new culture on the barren wasteland that has been imposed on this country by Democrats, Republicans, Capitalists and creeps.

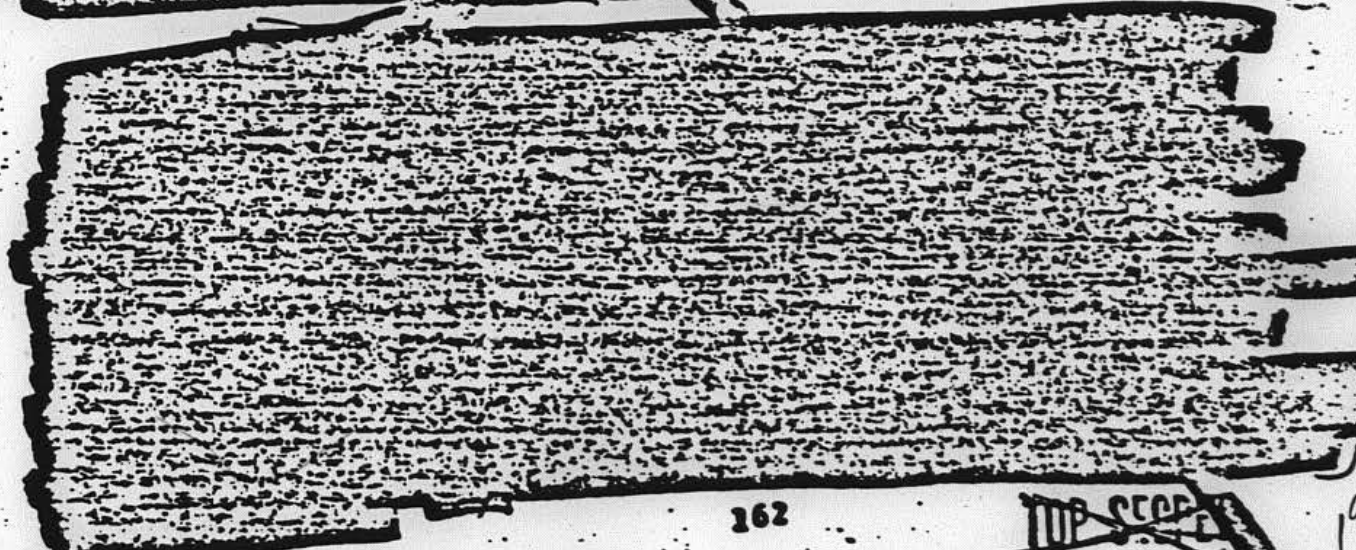
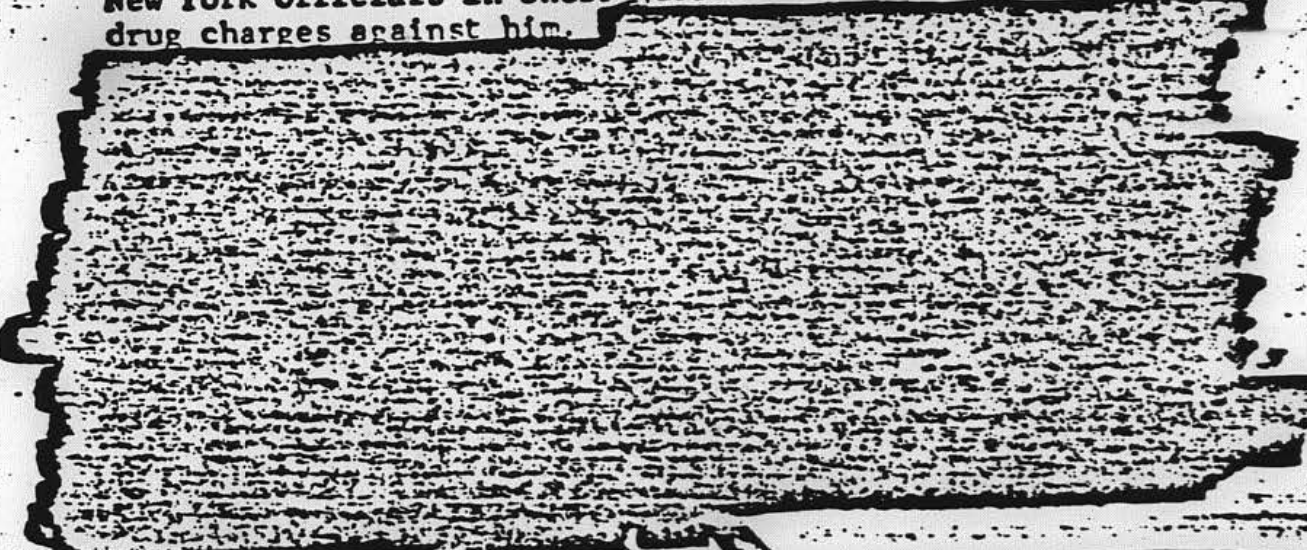
LSD and grass, like the herbs and cactus and mushrooms of the American Indians and countless civilizations that have existed on this planet, will help us make a future world where it will be possible to live in peace.

Now we are at war.

With the NLF and the North Vietnamese, with the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Al Fatah, with Rap Brown and Angela Davis, with all black and brown revolutionaries, the Soledad brothers and all prisoners of war in Amerikan concentration camps we know that peace is only possible with the destruction of U.S. imperialism.

Our organization commits itself to the task of freeing these prisoners of war.

We are outlaws, we are free!

Bernardine Dohrn"

A facsimile of the DOHRN signature as it appeared on the fourth communication.

TOP SECRET

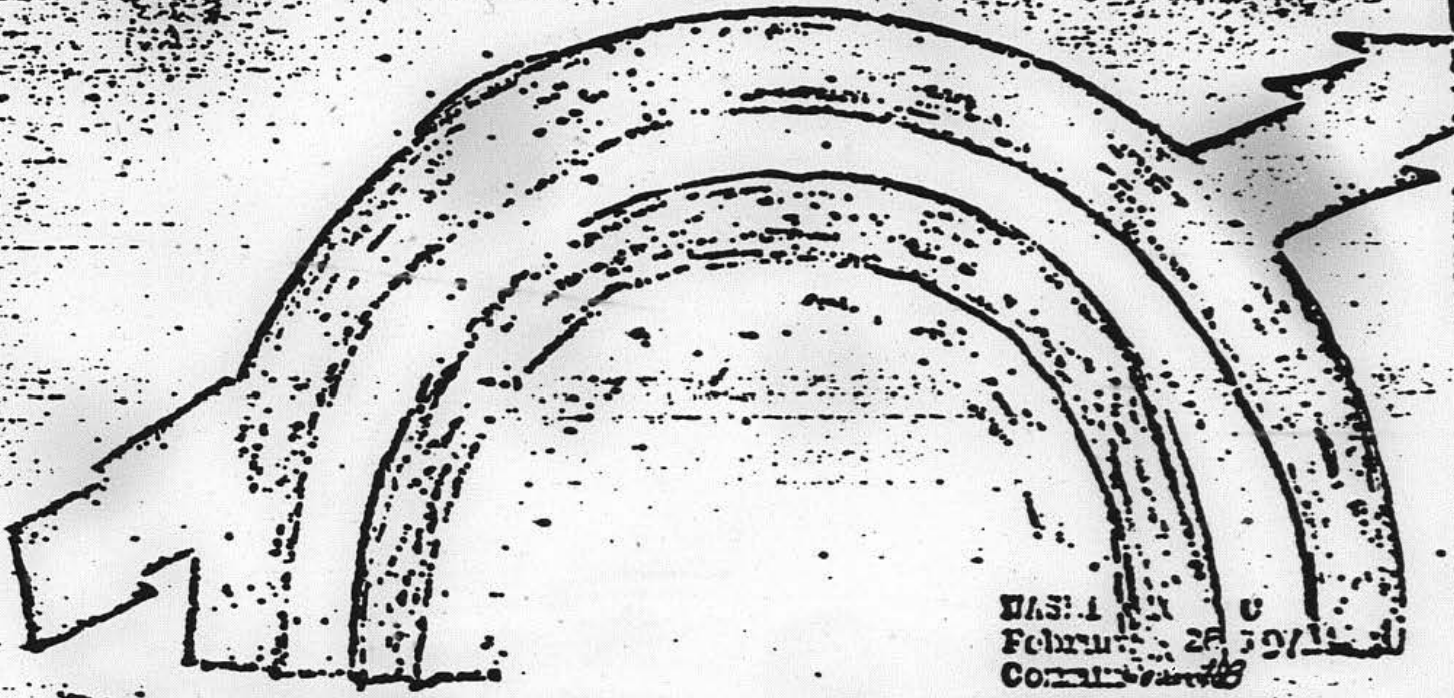
189

TOP SECRET

Report on TIMOTHY LEARY's Escape and Travel to Algeria

On September 12, 1970, the WUO executed the escape from the minimum security facility, California Men's Colony West (CMCW), San Luis Obispo, California, of Dr. TIMOTHY FRANCIS LEARY, JR. LEARY, a PhD graduate and lecturer at Harvard University, had developed a sizable following among young adults because of his research into the effects of consciousness-altering drugs, particularly LSD. Incarcerated at that time following conviction on violation of California marijuana laws, he faced an additional ten year Federal sentence after completion of that state sentence. New York officials in their jurisdiction had pending additional drug charges against him.

TOP SECRET

190

The Nixon regime is now attempting the brutal conquest of yet another nation in Indochina. Lies about the war "winding down" cannot hide the criminal invasion of Laos. Nixon's speech last week cannot cover up the most vicious inhuman air war in history. Daily US B52s are dropping the equivalent of Hiroshima every two days on Laotian villages, forests and fields. Air attacks on South Vietnam, North Vietnam and Cambodia are heavy and increasing. Nixon can't explain away fifteen hundred US marines ready on the North Vietnamese border while Ky, Thieu and Kissinger prepare the Amerikan public for the next invasion. Nixon cannot disguise his plan — the genocide against all Indochinese people who dare to fight against American imperialism.

We have attacked the Capitol because it is, along with the White House and the Pentagon, the worldwide symbol of the government

TOP SECRET

191

to US domination over the planet. The in[illegible] of Laos will not have peace in this country. Young people here will do everything we can to harass, disrupt and destroy this murderous government. The thousands of people who have begun to protest and fight this new escalation are saying to the world that we will retaliate against Amerika's crimes. Our actions, our protests and the spirit of our resistance will be welcomed and supported by people all over the world.

It is urgent that all of us expose Nixon's lies. Pham Van Dong said "Nixon talks peace to make war, that is as clear as daylight." The US claims to be responding th the presence of North Vietnamese in Laos, to be attacking the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail. But it is really launching a direct attack on the people of Laos. Their fight for national liberation has along history. The Pathet Lao and nationalist forces have been fighting invaders since 1950, winning military victories, transforming lives. Since May 1964(two months before the Gulf of Tonkin incident), Amerikan B 52s flown from Thailand have been devestating the Laotian countryside. Sixty percent of the Laotian people have been made homless, driven into population clusters or restoration zones with little possibility of survival. This, of course, is what the US has done in Cambodia and South Victnam.

But in thepast few weeks, the Pathet Lao has won great victoriesover the US-controlled, CIA-trained mercenaries. After cutting off two bases, they are now threatenin. the main body of the attacking army. Nixon needs to send in Amerikan troops to rep,ir the debacle. Already the media and military spokesmen are calling it the greatest defeat since Tet – raising before Nixon and his collaborators the spectre of Dien Bien Phu.

Faced with defeats on the ground, Amerika has turned to an air war without limits. "Vietnamization" only means the replacement of Amerikan ground troops with even greater air power. With Black GIs leading open rebellions in the army, Nixon can't rely on draftees. As GIs leave Vietanmesesoil, they are replaced by more Amerikan B52s, flown by more Amerikan death-pilots, dropping bombs made in Amerikan factories.

US bombers are now raining death on all of Indochina.

into a barren waste[illegible]d, uninhabitable for g[illegible]ations. Whole rice crops have be[illegible]d out. And the Vietn[illegible] revealed to scientists that the defoliants cause severe genetic damage to human beings. A pregnant woman who drinks water which contains defoliant is more likely to have a malformed child that a woman exposed to atomic radiation in Hiroshima. The whole population of five northeastern provinces of South Vietnam is being forcibly relocated to create a 60-mile wide free-fire zone for Amerikan bombers. There is open speculation in Washington about using tactical nuclear weapons in this area. This is not just a war against the people who are fighting now - it is a war against the future.

But Nixon speaks of peace. Air war isn't really war at all. Bombers pounding the Laotian villages doesn't mean an invasion. GIs in South Vietnamese uniforms aren't really Amerikans. Words like "protective reaction," "protective encirclement," and "phased withdrawal" clean it up for the TV and voting audience.

The men who are running this war are a new vicious breed of murderer. Kissinger smilingly referred to Nixon's address as his "Endof the World" speech, while Amerika moves closer to war with China. Laird cries for the POWs while Vietnamese are tortured in Saigon's tiger cages and by US special forces. Rogers pledges a "war without limits" in Indochina. Arrogant imperialists, at ease with the pastime of genocide. Selling their atrocities with press releases, "new images" Madison Avenue doublethink. But as Custer discovered at the Little Big Horn, as the French found at Dien Bien Phu, and as Nixon is learning in the Laotian hills west of Khe Sanh, the arrogance of the white man can lead to his own destruction.

TOP SECRET

The war that began ten years ago was to be a quick mop-up job to search and destroy the Vietcong. Instead it has become the longest war this country has fought since the wars to conquer the Indians. Faced with the whole people of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam as its enemy, Amerika has turned to a new kind of warfare - kill all, burn all, destroy all. The crimes committed at the village of My Lai are not extraordinary - the defendants in that case call it standrad operating procedure. After all, Calley testified, its not as if he were killing human beings.

the Amerikan invaders have been driven out of the countryside by the full power of people's war. By local self-defense units in each village, by women in the rice fields shooting down bomber planes, by children running supplies to the front, by the bamboo traps set by thousands of villagers. Today the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) governs four fifths of the countryside and 11 million people. It is recognized by over twenty nations, leading the war effort, maintaining factories and schools, making films. It is the government which, represented by Madame Binh, seeks independence at Paris.

The Saigon regime is now on the brink of collapse. Even the CIA estimates that over thirty thousand people inside the regime are secret members of the NLF. In Saigon itslef the underground carries out daily sabotage attacks, and mass student demonstrations threaten the US Embassy. In the cities, once the heart of Amerikan corruption and power in South Vietnam, everyone is part of the resistance movement.

Thousands of young people had the honor of meeting the Vietnamese while helping with the sugar harvest in Cuba. What we learn from our Cuban and Vietnamese friends is that our power grows in a long, a protracted war, while the enemy, attacked on many fronts, weakens. We have already fought many battles here. We were at the Pentagon and stopped troop trains in Oakland in 1967. In 1968, the combined effect of the Tet offensive, Black rebellions in every city and the student movement forced LBJ into early retirement. Last May, the massive response to the invasion of Cambodia slowed down Nixon's timetable, heightened the crisis within the army, and gave great encouragement to the Indochinese people.

Now ruling-class spokesmen are telling us that the movement has cooled off - but we saw a new spirit march through the streets of Amerika last month. People are not fooled about the difficulty of resistance - we were never that naive. We are all learning new ways to fight against the advanced repressive technology of the pigs. It's growing. In many cities, women's groups led militant street demonstrations for the first time. They have taken the name and ideal of Madame Binh to young people. The life of Ho Chi Minh, the

TOP SECRET

194

of us — now we must learn about the Pathet Lao and the Khmer Rouge. The spirit of cooperation that exists among all the organizations allied in the fight to free Indochina is the spirit we can build this year within Amerika. Now we must begin mobilizing for the next stage.

All over the country, revolutionaries are getting ready for the Spring. Our plans can be as creative and indigenous as the bamboo booby traps of the Vietnamese. Sometimes our weapons don't seem to be enough — the feeling of frustration comes from our passionate desire to help force the withdrawal of US troops and stop the murderous bombing raids right away. But our sting is deadly — our revolution is young. Beautiful Pathet Lao banners, sisters marching strong, mobile forces, new people. People learning how to live and how to sustain the fight. Together there comes great power. The combined strength of armed underground attacks, propaganda, demonstrations in the cities and campuses, actions by local collectives, all forms of organizing and political warfare can wreck the Amerikan warmachine.

Everything we do makes a difference. After the B 52 attacks, the Vietnamese fill in the bomb craters. Hundreds of men and women mobilize to hand small baskets of earth up to the people at the top of the crater. Soon the crater is filled. People all over the world are encouraged by what we do here in the heart of the Empire.

Nixon will see that what he took for acquiescence was really the calm before the storm.

THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

Weather Underground

195

WEATHER UNDERGROUND #12

May 19, 1972
The 82nd Anniversary of the Birth of Ho Chi Minh

> "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, and we would rather sacrifice all than lose our country and live as slaves."
>
> -Ho Chi Minh

After years and years of fighting foreign invaders - Japan, France, and the United States - the Vietnamese are now moving toward the total liberation of their country. It is a crucial period in the long history of Vietnamese resistance. For in the past seven weeks the massive offensive organized by the Vietnamese people has shattered the Nixon strategy of "Vietnamization" and freed thousands of people from the South Vietnamese detention centers, disrupting what the arrogant whites call the Rural Pacification Program. Large sections of countryside have again been liberated by the National Liberation Front. It has been clear to everyone that the Thieu regime and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) would collapse within a matter of days

without U.S. air and naval power. The risk taken by the Vietnam at this time is to face that U.S. military might in a fight to regain their homeland.

Today we attacked the Pentagon, the center of the American military command. We are acting at a time when growing U.S. air and naval shellings are being carried out against the Vietnamese while U.S. mines and war ships are used to blockade the harbors of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; while plans for even more escalations are being made in Washington.

> 'The clouds embrace the peaks, the peaks embrace the clouds. The river below shines like a mirror, spotless and clean. On the crest of the Western Mountain, my heart stirs as I wander, Looking towards the Southern sky and dreaming of old friends.'
>
> -Ho Chi Minh

Vietnam is one country and one people. As one people, they trace the roots of their resistance back to the first independen struggle led by the Trung sisters. As one people, they defeated the Japanese occupying force and their Vichy French allies in 1945. As one people they defeated the French occupation troops 1954 at DienBienPhu. And as one people, they have stood up to t attempts of the United States to subjugate them. TOP SECRET

Vietnam, after the defeat of the French, was separated intc two zones at the Geneva Conference of 1954. The imperialist powers participating at Geneva, led by the U.S., maneuvered to s up a zone that would be agreeable to their penetration, with the full intention of using it as a base to launch attacks and subv ion against other S.E. Asian countries. The Geneva Accords clearly state that 'the military demarcation line (between Nort

"and South) is provisional and should not be interpreted as const: tuting a political or territorial boundry." The Accords called for internationally supervised elections throughout Vietnam with: two years in order that the Vietnamese could determine their own future. The elections never happened, thwarted by the American-backed dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, and his corrupt government. Pres: dent Eisenhower said "...had elections been held, possibly 80% o the population would have voted for the communist Ho Chi Minh." The era of direct U.S. intervention had begun. The Pentagon Papers pointed out later that "South Vietnam was essentially the creation of the United States." And yet the lie of 'agression from the North' has been the justification for continual escalat

> "Neither bombs nor shells can cow our people and no honeyed words can deceive them. We, Vietnamese, are resolved to fight till not a single U.S. aggressor remains on our beloved land."
>
> --Ho Chi Minh

A people united with a vision of independence and liberty a powerful human force. They can be bombed and killed, and the: progress can be slowed, but they can never be fully enslaved. This is why in Vietnam, the people are still able to resist wit! such strength, even after a series of aggressive military strat ies -special war, limited war, large-scale air attacks -. have been unleashed against them. The vision of a free Vietnam is m compelling than the fear of more U.S. reprisals.

The people of Vietnam are conscious of the risks and the stakes of their struggle. They persevere. They resis_ bit by they rebuild piece by piece.

From a bomb shelter in Hanoi a few days ago, a Vietnamese

"told an American reporter, 'Nixon cannot understand us...We have anticipated the worst and have all the means to face it. Ho Chi Minh said that Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities would be destroye but that we could not be defeated — he predicted it.'"

What further price will the Vietnamese have to pay to win th freedom? Already 3,000,000 Vietnamese have died in the fighting. The indochinese people have had to withstand 26 million tons of explosives used against them by U.S. forces from 1965-1971. The have been subjected to sustained U.S. air-raids directed against agricultural cooperatives, communes, hospitals, schools, dikes a workshops throughout the country.

And now the United States government, instead of leaving Vietnam, has responded to the deepening political crisis at home and the defeat of American ground troops, with a policy of 'Vietnamization.'

'Vietnamization' is the Nixon Doctrine applied to Vietnam. calls for the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops in an attempt to cool the political crisis within the United States. Aid to the ARVN is increased to try to build up the pro-US forces. At the same time, 'Vietnamization' is a strategy based on an increasin U.S. presence in terms of air, naval, and technological power. the U.S. troop levels recede while destruction and death increa Once again the white man calculates that it is worth the cost because the bodies aren't white. And Asian is turned against A by the manipulation of a foreign power.

'Eyes must look far ahead, and thoughts be deeply pondered.
Be bold and unremitting in attack.
Give the wrong command, and two chariots are rendered useless.
Give the right command, a pawn can bring you victory.'

- The Provisional Revolutionary Government, thru its representative in Paris, Madame Binh, has proposed a program for peace in Vietnam. The American people should read this proposal. It calls on the United States government to set a date for total withdrawal from Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese can solve their own problems. It further demands that the U.S. stop interfering in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and stop backing the corrupt Thieu regime. If the U.S. government would agree to these points, the fighting could stop, U.S. airmen shot down over North Vietnam could be released, the last pilot returning home as the last American soldier leaves Indochina, and most importantly, the Vietnamese people could continue the job of building up their nation, working out internal problems like the question of reunification among themselves.

The Nixon government should accept these proposals. Instead Nixon's every move shows him to be a greater war-monger than any of his predecessors. It is Nixon who directed the invasions of Cambodia and Laos, thus creating an all-Indochina war. It is Nixon who ordered the mining of the harbors and waterways of the DRV. And it is Nixon who has contingency plans for the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. He is the major perpetrator of violence in the world today; he is the war criminal.

> "My ultimate wish is that our whole Party and people, closely united in the struggle, build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution."

The world has been changed forever by the struggle in Vietnam. Despite all the U.S. bombs, all the vicious escalation, all the criminal acts of this government, the people of Vietnam continue to fight, continue to build their society.

These are the people we are taught to hate. Look into their eyes, see how they raise their children, how they greet one another. Read their songs and poetry. Reflect on how they face this terrible war machine, how they transform bomb craters into fish hatcheries, how youth brigades mobilize to rebuild bridges and roads as quickly as they are bombed. Try to understand how they persevere.

There is a difference between Richard Nixon and Ho Chi Minh; William Porter and Madame Binh, Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho. Nixon may be murdering for his pride and his power but the Vietnamese are fighting to be free and to live as human beings in a different kind of world. And because of this, the eyes of people from every land are focused on Vietnam:

> 'Neither high nor very far,
> Neither emperor, nor king,
> You are only a little milestone,
> Which stands at the edge of the highway.
> To people passing by
> You point the right direction,
> And stop them from getting lost.
> You tell them of the distance
> For which they still must journey.
> Your service is not a small one
> And people will always remember you.'

Ho Chi Minh

C. WUO Bombings and Attempted Bombings

October 7, 1969

The Haymarket Police Statue was bombed in Chicago, Illinois apparently as a "kickoff" for the WUO "Days of Rage" riots which took place in the city during October 8-11, 1969. No suspects have been developed in this matter. The WUO claimed credit for thebombing in their book "Prairie Fire."

December 6, 1969

Several Chicago Police cars parked in a Precinct parking lot at 3600 North Halsted Street, Chicago, were bombed. No suspects have been developed in this matter and no organization claimed credit until almost five years later when the WUO admitted that it was responsible in their book "Prairie Fire." The WUO stated that they had perpetrated the explosion to protest the shooting deaths of Illinois Black Panther leaders FRED HAMPTON and MARK CLARK on December 4, 1969, by police officers.

February 13, 1970

Several Police vehicles of the Berkeley, California, Police Department were bombed in the police parking lot.

February 16, 1970

A bomb detonated at the Golden Gate Park Branch of the San Francisco Police Department killing one officer and injuring a number of other policemen.

No organization claimed credit for either of these February police bombings.

b1

~~TOP SECRET~~

B1

March 6, 1970

Thirtyfour sticks of dynamite were discovered in the 13th Police District of the Detroit, Michigan Police Department. No credit was ever taken for this attempted bombing, however, evidence exists that it was the work of the WUO. [redacted] reported during February and early March, 1970, that members of the WUO led by BILL AYERS were in Detroit during that period for the purpose of bombing a police facility.

~~TOP SECRET~~

May 10, 1970

The National Guard Association building in Washington, D. C. was bombed. Four years later in "Prairie Fire" the WUO claimed credit for this explosion indicating that they had perpetrated it to protest National Guard killings of students at Kent State and Jackson State Universities.

June 5, 1970

The WUO sent a letter claiming credit for bombing of the San Francisco Hall of Justice, however, no explosion took place. Months later, however, workmen in this building located an unexploded device which had apparently been dormant for some time.

June 9, 1970

The WUO bombed the headquarters building of the New York City, New York Police Department. In their communique written in connection with this bombing the WUO indicated that "The pigs in this country are our enemies." They continued by describing some of the alleged evil acts committed by the police and indicate that "The pigs try to look invulnerable, but we (WUO) keep finding their weaknesses." The communique concludes by indicating that "The time is now. Political power grows out of a gun, a molotov, a riot, a commune...and from the soul of the people."

The Bank of America building located at 41 Broad Street, New York, New York was bombed. Following the explosion an individual telephonically contacted a New York newspaper indicating that the Weathermen had perpetrated the bombing in honor of the Cuban Revolution. He indicated that a Viet Cong flag had been left at the scene. Subsequent investigation located a torn Viet Cong flag and a Cuban pennant at the bank.

October 5, 1970

The Haymarket Statue in Chicago as reconstructed following a WUO bombing on October 7, 1969, was again bombed by the WUO. Following the explosion on October 6, 1970, JENNIFER DOHRN, sister of WUO leader BERNARDINE DOHRN, played a tape recording of her sister's voice in which BERNARDINE claimed that the bombing had been perpetrated by the WUO. She indicated that the bombing marked the beginning of the